

THE EARLIEST
ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS
OF
ERASMUS' *COLLOQUIA*
1536 — 1566

TWO DIALOGUES — A MERRY DIALOGUE
Y^e PILGREGIMAGE OF PURE DEUOTYON
DIUERSORIA

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES,
BY

HENRY DE VOCHT
PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LOUVAIN



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THIS WORK HAS BEEN GRACIOUSLY HONOURED
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BRUSSELS.

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PIAE MEMORIAE
IOANNIS BAPTISTAE DE VOCHT
ET ANNAE CORNELIAE OOMEN

A QVIBVS NON VITAM MODO
SED ET QVO VITA BEATVR
IMPROBI LABORIS
STVDIVM
GRATUS ACCEPIT

AVCTOR

INTRODUCTIONS

NOTES

PREFACE

The editing of these translations fulfils a promise made twenty years ago. To the first instalment of the results of my researches on Erasmus' influence on dramatic literature in England, I contemplated annexing the reprint of four Colloquies : the first renderings of the *Adagia* and *Apophthegmata* being intended as additions to the second and third volumes. These texts would have been accompanied only by the indispensable bibliographical and textual notes. The *Royal Flemish Academy*, issuing the first volume, decided on a separate edition of the appendix ¹⁾, which necessitated more elaborate introductions and fuller notes to the wonderful web of the *Colloquia*, in which each thread tells a story, and each line of warp is spun from the very life-thoughts and aspirations of their great Author. I offered the outcome of my study to the *Academy* in the spring of 1912, but though the text of the four Colloquies had been printed off in 1911 ²⁾, the work was put aside for a while, owing to a disagreement caused by my wish to be useful to a wider range of readers ³⁾. The Great War brought an unavoidable standstill, and in the aftermath of straightened circumstances, the *Academy* was unable to complete the task undertaken, and made over to me, in October 1920, the sheets that had been printed off.

¹⁾ H. DE VOCHT, *De Invloed van Erasmus op de Engelsche Tooneelliteratuur der xvi^e en xvii^e Eeuwen*. Eerste deel : *Shakespeare Jest-Books*. Lyly : Ghent, 1908 : pp. vii, xiii.

²⁾ For want of the type necessary for English texts, the proofs to be collated with the originals, had a great amount of turned letters, which made correction difficult, and occasioned most of the *errata*.

³⁾ *Verslagen... der Kon. Vlaamsche Academie* : Ghent, 1914.

With sanguine hope I added, in 1921, the reproduction of the *Diuersoria*, and started a revision and a pruning of the introductory papers and notes, as some of them had been superseded by the work of others, who had not been hampered in their publishing ¹⁾. Originally the prefaces and commentaries had been intended to illustrate both the renderings and the originals; for economy's sake only the English renderings were considered, with the history of their genesis, their influence on later translations, and a comparative study with the Latin. After having been deluded for several years by the fata morgana of more prosperous circumstances, I am finally able to publish, with introductions and notes, these five xvith century texts, which, besides having an unmistakable value of their own, are most interesting for the history of civilization, and of literary and linguistic development.

To this apology for the delay in bringing out my book, I join the expression of my indebtedness to the *Royal Flemish Academy*, under whose auspices it was begun, and to the *Belgian University Foundation*, whose generosity made its completion possible; as well as my heartiest thanks for the enlightened help and the generous encouragement I received from my venerated Master, Professor W. Bang Kaup, who proposed this subject to me, and thus showed me the way to England; from Dr Ronald B. McKerrow, the great authority on bibliographical evidence, and from Dr Henry Guppy, whose erudition proves as rich and varied as the Library which he has all but created.

Louvain, August 1928.

¹⁾ E. g., the allusion to More and Jane Colte in *Uxor Meυ-ψίγαμος*; the biographical sketches of Eppendorf, and other personages of Erasmus' acquaintance.

I. - TWO DIALOGUES

1. The Latin Originals.

Cyclops, sive Evangeliphorus, one of Erasmus' most interesting *Colloquia*, illustrates his mind and feelings at one of the momentous periods of his existence, and pictures the old scholar and two of his *amanuenses* in the intimacy of domestic life. One of them, Polyphemus, Felix Konings or de Koninck ¹⁾, exemplified the licentious lives of some of the reformers, and their lack of intellectual and moral refinement. In his imaginary dialogue he refers to actual facts : to his recent quarrel at Besançon with Carinus, one of Erasmus' foes ²⁾; to his scheme for entering Ferdinand of Austria's body-guard ; to the wandering Anabaptist apostle who preached penance at Basle during the first weeks of 1529 ³⁾. The portrait of his collocutor, Nicolas Kan, or Cannius ⁴⁾, was not drawn from nature, but merely conceived by Erasmus as a safe means for criticizing Ecolampadius' ambiguous dealings and his hypocrisy. The occasion was offered by the close

¹⁾ J. Förstemann, *Felix König (Rex) Polyphemus*, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* : Leipzig, 1899 : XVI, 306 ; FG, 406 ; Roersch, 83 ; *LCran.*, 242, *pr. b.*

²⁾ Louis Kiel, or Carinus : cp. Allen, III, 920 ; FG, 320 ; EE, 1161, B, D ; RE, 6, 186, 377 ; Knod, 236.

³⁾ Letter of Erasmus to Ber : April 13, 1529 : EE, 1186, B, C ; cp. *TD*, 594, 605.

⁴⁾ *LCran.*, 242, *pr. a-e* ; FG, 318 ; *Lat. Cont.*, 386.

resemblance between these two men, which was made even more striking by Cannius' wearing, a few weeks before this Colloquy was composed, a cap similar to that of the Basle reformer ¹⁾). The contrivance did not escape Froben's staff when the Colloquy was being set, and Erasmus was compelled to protest against rumours and suspicions, and to apologize to Ecolampadius in March 1529. It follows that, although contemplated for nearly two years ²⁾, the *Cyclops* was written only a short while before Erasmus left Basle for Fribourg, in the last days of February, or the beginning of March 1529 ³⁾; it was published for the first time in the *auctarium* to the *Colloquia* issued by Froben and Hervagius in March 1529 ⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Opmeer, 463a; *LCran.*, 242, *pr. b*; *Bib. Belg.*, 682; EE, 1934, F.

²⁾ *LCran.*, 242, *pr. b*; 243, 85-92.

³⁾ EE, 1221, B, D; cp. Erasmus' letters to Pirckheymer on the subject, May 9 and July 15, 1529: EE, 1188, D; 1217, E.

⁴⁾ According to *Bibliotheca Belgica* (BB, E, 467, 471, 473), this *auctarium* was first published by Euch. Cervicornus, Cologne, in 1528. Certain it is, however, that the *Cyclops* was not printed before March 1529; indeed two facts to which it alludes, happened in 1529: the appearance at Basle of the Anabaptist preacher: January-February 1529 (EE, 1186, B), and Polyphemus' quarrel with Carinus at Besançon: second half of February 1529 (EE, 1161, D). Besides, the difficulty between Erasmus and Ecolampadius would have arisen long before March 1529 if the Colloquy had been printed a few months earlier (EE, 1189, B; 1218, F; 1221, B). Finally the very way in which the *auctarium* is published in Cervicornus' edition, proves that it was not included in the original plan, but was inserted after the rest of the book was ready. Indeed the titles of the new *Colloquia* have not been entered in the alphabetical index; and whereas the remainder of the colloquies and the additional matter are all on gatherings of eight leaves in a regular series of signatures a^8-z^8 , aa^8-kk^8 , the part with the *auctarium* has no signature, though extending over 28 leaves. It begins on the last leaf of the gathering gg ($[gg_8]r$); it takes up one quire of four leaves and three of eight, and ends on $[gg_{35}]v$. The signature gg , conse-

The *Cyclops* was translated into German and Italian in 1545 ¹⁾; a few years later it was rendered into English, evidently because it makes several allusions to the abuses existing in the Church of Rome, and also since it ridicules the extravagant reforms advocated by the Anabaptists, who were then infesting England. It was published at Canterbury under the title of *Two Dyaloges*.

The second colloquy, 'dysposyng of thynges and names', is the translation of *De Rebus ac Vocabulis*, printed for the first time by Froben in 1527 ²⁾. Taking occasion of the duplicity of Francis Berckman, a printers' agent ³⁾, already criticized in *Pseudoechei et Philetymi*, 1523 ⁴⁾, Erasmus moralizes about truth

quently, numbers 36 leaves, on the recto of the last of which, [gg₃₆], begins the *De Utilitate Colloquiorum*; from there to the end of the book the signatures and gatherings follow again in order. The breaking of the regularity of the signatures, which was as a law with xvth century printers (cp. McKerrow, 226-230), shows that the *auctarium* (from [gg₈] to [gg₃₅]) was an addition to a book already printed off: Cervicornus evidently had made in 1528 a new issue of the *Colloquia*, and hearing of the ten new dialogues, he inserted them between the quires *gg* and *hh* of his edition, ignoring the anachronism. To that effect he cut the conjugate leaf *gg*₁ from [gg₈], replacing the latter by one on which he started the colloquy *Charon*; this old f^o [gg₈] was stuck to [gg₂₉], at the end of the addition, and became the new f^o [gg₃₆]; or, — which is more probable, — he simply reprinted *gg*₁ with the new [gg₈], as well as the leaf with the *De Utilitate*: a copy of his edition which existed in the Louvain University Library before 1914, gave me the impression that *gg*₁ and [gg₈], as well as [gg₂₉] and [gg₃₆] were conjugate. An apodictical proof would be supplied by a copy of Cervicornus' issue, in which the addition is wanting: cp. *BB*, E, 471.

¹⁾ *BB*, E, 746, 773, 836, 61, 62.

²⁾ *BB*, E, 468.

³⁾ Allen, I, 258, 14; EE, 929, c; FG, 302, 304; *Lat. Cont.*, 385; *LCran.*, 56, 22; Duff, *Cent.*, 14.

⁴⁾ EOO, I, 710, D; *BB*, E, 448.

and pretence on the example of Plato's *Gorgias* ¹⁾; he shows the lack of logic in those who pretend to be what they are not, and feel offended when they are called by their right names. He finishes the Colloquy with a satire on low-born men who bear themselves as knights in order that they may behave as profligates and scoundrels; which satire was aimed at Henry Eppendorf, formerly his friend and protégé, with whom he was then in a violent quarrel on account of a letter denouncing that young man's suspicious conduct to his patron Duke George of Saxony ²⁾. As the dialogue is carried on between two of Erasmus' intimate friends, the famous lawyer Boniface Amorbach ³⁾ and the humanist Beatus Rhenanus ⁴⁾, it looks as if in 1527, Erasmus had already chosen them as judges in that quarrel; for they were actually called upon to act as arbiters in the last days of January 1528, when they established a kind of peace, without settling the difficulty. The criticism of Eppendorf in *De Rebus ac Vocabulis* does not seem to have influenced the dispute; it probably emboldened Erasmus to compose a more incisive and much less disguised caricature of his adversary, the *Ἰππεὺς Ἀνίππεος*, published in March 1529 ⁵⁾.

De Rebus ac Vocabulis was rendered into Spanish in 1530, and into Italian in 1545 ⁶⁾. Four years later

¹⁾ Cp. Montaigne's *De la Vanité des Paroles*.

²⁾ EOO, I, ***3, v; Chr. Saxius, *de Henrico Eppendorpio Commentarius*: Leipzig, 1745; Allen, IV, 1122; ADB; BB, E, 278-281.

³⁾ Th. Burckhardt-Biedermann, *Bonifacius Amerbach und die Reformation*: Basle, 1894; R. Stintzing, *Geschichte der Deutschen Rechtswissenschaft*, I, 209, &c.; ADB; Allen, II, 408; RE; FG, 295.

⁴⁾ A. Horawitz & K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*: Leipzig, 1886; ADB; Allen, II, 327; FG, 411; EE, 733, D.

⁵⁾ EOO, I, 834, D; BB, E, 471, 473.

⁶⁾ BB, E, 746, 751, 836, 202.

it was translated by Edmond Becke, most probably on account of the opportune criticism on some members of the clergy and of the nobility; for discontent was growing in England against unscrupulous and rapacious men, whose tyrannical oppression was the crueller since people were greatly suffering from the social and religious changes.

2. The Translator.

About the translator of the *Two Dyaloges*, (Edmonde Becke', there is but scanty information ¹⁾). He was ordained deacon in 1551 ²⁾ by Ridley³⁾, with whom he was acquainted, and to whose *familia* he seems to have belonged. A passage in the preface states that Becke made this translation by request, thus realizing the truth of the saying : *Rogando cogit qui rogat superior*. Although nothing decisive can be derived from such a commonplace declaration, one can easily conceive how a zealous man like Ridley should have prompted a dependant of his to make accessible to the general reader two *colloquia*, which were certain to influence the mind of the people, both on account of their author, and of the special matter they treated; for England was then just as plagued with Cyclops and Anabaptists and Eppendorfs, as Erasmus had been at Basle. This acquaintance would moreover account for the fact that Becke published his translation at Canterbury, where he may have been Ridley's deputy to a canonry, which the latter had obtained

¹⁾ Cp. Sidney Lee's biography in *DNB*.

²⁾ Strype, II, 325; III, 113 : Becke may have been one of those who were ordained priests in the same year.

³⁾ 'Nicolas Ridleus' with two companions, Thomas Occeleus and Robertus Bullardus, 'Angli natione', matriculated in Louvain University on May 31, 1527 : *Excerpts*, 105. Cp. *DNB*.

in that city in 1541, and of which he hardly can have carried out the duties by himself ¹⁾).

The *Two Dyaloges* are not dated; the doctrines and teachings which occasioned their translation, as well as the spirit in which the latter was made, suggest the last years of Edward VI.'s reign. Some characteristics in the language which belong to a later period, may be explained by a partiality to innovations either in the author or in the printer ²⁾). Consequently J. Strype's statement, that they were published , either 1549 or not far from it ' ³⁾ may safely be accepted; they evidently were Becke's first literary work, judging from his demure , preface ', and his humble promise to , attempte the translacion of some bokes dysposing of matters bothe delectable, frutefull, & expedient to be knowen ' in case his , symple doinge... be thankfully taken, and in good parte accepted ' ⁴⁾).

His interest, however, seems to have been taken up by a more important task, which left him little leisure for a few years to come. He worked namely at a new edition of *Matthew's Bible*, viz., Tyndale's translation corrected by Coverdale, as it was published, with prefatory matter and marginal notes, in Antwerp in 1537 by John Rogers, under the pseudonym of Thomas Matthew. Becke revised the text, and added some notes to those previously printed ⁵⁾, as well as , A

¹⁾ Becke may have succeeded Lancelot Ridley, or Rydley, apparently a relative of the Bishop of London, and his deputy in the benefice at Canterbury; he also had a book printed there (without date) by John Mychell : *In Paulum ad Philipenses* : cp. *IBS*, 278; *AmHerb*, III, 1453. .

²⁾ Cp. note on the language, pp. 224, 235.

³⁾ Strype, II, 325.

⁴⁾ *TD*, 63-68.

⁵⁾ Amongst others Becke added the well-known note on I. Pet., III, 7 : , To dwell wt a wyfe accordinge to knowledge ', in

perfect supputacyon of the yeaes & tyme from Adam vnto Christe, proued by the Scryptures, after the Colleccon of dyuers Authours, by Edmund becke. ' His edition has as title :

The Byble, that / is to say all the holy Scri- / pture : Jn
whych are cō- / tayned the Olde and / New Testamente, /
truly & purely trā- / slated into En- / glish, & nowe / lately
with / greate in- / dustry & diligē- / ce recognised. /
Jmprynted at / London by Jhon Daye,.../... and William/
Seres... // xvii. day of August. M.D.XLIX. ¹⁾

It is dedicated to , the moost puisant and mighty prince Edwarde the sixt ', whose , moost humble and obedient subiect Edmunde Becke ', requested him to , wel accept, & in good parte take, [those] rude, & simple lucubrations ', which had occasioned , long trauail, great paynes and laboures atchieued, with no small expenses and charges, taken and susteyned... in & about the edicion & setting forth of an handsome & cōmodious Byble, with certayn sundrye Prologes, schollyes, or brief Annotations (not heretofore in our native language published) ' ²⁾.

This book was no sooner issued than Becke took in hand a complete revision of Taverner's edition (1539) of Coverdale's correction of Tyndale's text. It was published by instalments between 1549 and 1551 in

which occurs the sentence : , And yf she be not obedient and healfull vnto hym endeuoureth to beate the feare of God into her heade, that therby she maye be compelled to learne her duitie and do it '.

¹⁾ Darlow, I, 15, 38; AmHerb, I, 621; Strype, II, 324; Lewis, 177-8; Wilson, 29. This edition is called the 'Bug Bible', on account of the word *bugges* used in Psalm xci, 5, although that word already occurs in earlier issues, and even in Coverdale's rendering of 1535.

²⁾ According to S. Lee (*DNB*) an autograph copy of this address is amongst the Ashmolean MSS., Oxford.

five different parts, , to the cōmoditie ', as he wrote in the preface to the first volume, , of these pore... ŷ they whiche ar not able to bie ƒ hole may bie a part '. The different titles are :

1. THE FYRSTE / parte of the Bible / called the. v. bokes of / Moses. translated by .W / T. wyth all his prologes / before euery boke and cer / teine learned notes vpon / many harde wordes. London, J. Day, 1551 (8°, B.1) ¹⁾.

2. THE SECOND PARTE OF / the Byble, contayning / these Bookes fo- / lowyng (Josua to Hiob).

London, J. Day & W. Seres, 1549 (8°, B.1).

3. The thyrde parte of the Byble : contayning the Psalms... Song of Solomon. London, J. Daie & W. Seres, 1550 (8°, B.1).

4. THE BOKE OF / the Prophetes. Esaye... Malachi.

London, J. Daye & W. Seres, 1550 (8°, B.1).

5. THE VOLUME OF THE / hokes called Apocripha : Cō- / teining these bokes folowing. / The thyrd boke of Esdras... the .iii. boke of Machabees.

London, J. Day & W. Seres, 1549 (8°, B.1) ²⁾.

The translation published in these octavo volumes, which also contained most of the notes and prefaces of the previous editions, had been carefully revised by Becke; he had collated the text of the *Apocrypha* with that of Leo Juda; he had made a new rendering of Tobit, Judith and III Esdras, and had translated for the first time the third book of the Maccabees ³⁾. The series was completed by a reprint of Tyndale's New Testament in 1550 or 1551, and, probably on account of its success, was published by Day in 1551 in one folio volume, thus reproducing the Tyndale-

¹⁾ This edition was probably the reprint of an earlier one, published, like the four others, by Day & Seres : no copy of this issue seems to be known : Darlow, I, 51, 52.

²⁾ Darlow, I, 43, 44, 48, 52; Wilson, 33, 129*, 292.

³⁾ Cp. AmHerb, I, 622, 625; Darlow, I, 44, 52, 53; Wilson, 39.

Coverdale-Taverner Bible revised by Becke ¹⁾). His work seems to have been appreciated, since his 1551 edition was used for later reprints, and his 1549 Bible was re-issued in 1551 in London by Nicolas Hyll for Thomas Petyt and others ²⁾).

Though such work seems quite natural to a devoted disciple of Erasmus, who, in England, was considered as the great authority in scriptural and exegetic matters, Becke probably was induced, or at least encouraged to it by Ridley, who cannot have been indifferent to the editing and diffusing of carefully translated and annotated Bibles. The influence of the bishop is again evident in his third work, a very learned theological argument in paltry verses, refuting the errors, and justifying the execution, of the anabaptist Joan Bocher, or Butcher : Ridley, one of her judges, had reasoned with her in Lord Rich's house ³⁾). It is entitled :

A brefe Confutacion of this most detestable, and Anabaptistical opinion, that Christ dyd not take hys flesh of the blessed Vyrgyn Mary nor any corporal substaunce of her body. For the maintenaunce whereof Jhone Bucher, otherwise called Jhone of Kent, most obstinately suffered, and was burned in Smythfyeelde, The ii. day of May. Anno domini M.D.L. ⁴⁾

¹⁾ *The Byble,... faithfully set furth according to y^e Coppy of Thomas Mathewes traüslaciō... Imprinted at London by Jhon Day... Anno M.D.Li.* Cp. Darlow, I, 52-54; AmHerb, I, 626; Wilson, 37; F. Fry, *A Bibliographical Description of the Editions of The New Testament* : London, 1878 : 142-4. — This edition contains Becke's preface of 1549 (the first line being changed), and the famous note on I Pet., III, 7.

²⁾ AmHerb, I, 556; Darlow, I, 54; Wilson, 39.

³⁾ Cp. DNB; Strype, II, 110, 347; Cranmer, I, 258; Stow, 604; Gairdner, 278; Blunt, II, 269; Froude, *Hist.*, IV, 407, 526.

⁴⁾ HazHb., 34; HazBCN, I, 32; this pamphlet was reprinted by J. Payne Collier in the second volume of his *Illustrations of Early English Popular Literature* : London, 1864.

This 4to, containing 4 leaves, was published in London, probably in 1550, with the colophon : By me Edmon Becke. Imprinted at London by John day... and William Seres... ¹⁾

By his writings and his studies Becke appears to have gained some renown amongst his contemporaries, in so much that John Bale entered his name in the *Index of British Writers*, compiled from 1548 to 1557. He called him *vir eruditus*, and next to the *Prefationes atque annotationes Bibliorum, cum alijs*, he mentions as his work *Fabulae conuiuiales, Table talke*, in one volume. Possibly no copy of this book has survived; it can hardly be identified with the *Two Dyaloges*, 'or such a mistake in the title could not have been made by Bale, who expressly states that he has his information , *Ex musæo eiusdem Eadmundi [Beck]*. ' This note implies a personal acquaintance of the two men, who probably met in the last years of Edward's reign; possibly again after January 1560, when John Bale was made a prebendary of Canterbury, in which city he died in 1563 ²⁾ : for at the fall of his patron Ridley, Becke apparently retired there from public life, and lived the secluded existence of a scholar in his *musæum*, in so far that nothing is known about his further career or his death.

3. Becke's Translations.

Becke, who in his preface stated his views about the requisites of a good translation ³⁾, supplied a rendering of the two *colloquia*, which is not only

¹⁾ Cp. Thomas Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* : London, 1748 : 83; Joseph Ritson, *Bibliographia Poetica* : London, 1802 : 128.

²⁾ *IBS*, xix, 66 : Eadmundus Beck. ³⁾ *TD*, 27-62.

faithful to the originals, but also interesting as a piece of literature. As he intended his little book for the average man, he explained some out-of-the-way names ¹⁾ and allusions ²⁾ without burdening his text. The witty and concise Latin dialogue did not lose its freshness or vivacity, though Erasmus' delicate and subtle puns generally required a paraphrase instead of a simple translation ³⁾. Some of these puns consist of a play on homonymous Latin words ⁴⁾, and even of flat jokes by which the Colloquy illustrates the would-be humorous, but pointless, repartee of the slow-witted Polyphemus ⁵⁾ : such niceties could hardly be rendered : in two cases Becke left out the passage ⁶⁾; in others he seemingly missed the point, or spoilt it by translating terms such as *Euangelio-phorus*, which might have been kept and explained ⁷⁾. But for these few exceptions, he turns the difficulties to excellent account : of the *Equites... equuleo dignos* ', he makes *gentylmen of the Jebet... horsemen... worthy to ryde vpon the gallowes* '; Erasmus' remark : *pro Bonifacio dici Cornelius* ', is improved to : *for Boniface be called Maleface or horner* ' ⁸⁾. The English text is thus enriched with peculiar sayings, explaining the elliptic wording of the original ⁹⁾, or smoothing the

¹⁾ E. g., Silenus, Epicure, Irus and Thersites : *TD*, 127, 565, 735, 728.

²⁾ E. g., *tunica cinericea* ' and *apologi* ' : *TD*, 158, 169.

³⁾ *TD*, 175, 332, 341, 505, 512, 623, 627, 957, &c.

⁴⁾ E. g., *minime*; *Ægo & ego*; *sis Felix* ' : *TD*, 213, 453, 660.

⁵⁾ E. g., *Amputarem... collum pro colapho* ' : *TD*, 373; also 111, 175-8, 213, &c.

⁶⁾ *TD*, 217, 454.

⁷⁾ *TD*, 111, 222, 227, 335, 519, 1085.

⁸⁾ *TD*, 1140, 726.

⁹⁾ *TD*, 369, 496, 506, 651, &c.

passing from one idea to another ¹⁾). Latin *adagia* are replaced by English proverbs ²⁾); abstract terms are rendered by picturesque images : , *creditorem sic compellare* ', becomes , to pulle one of these good detters... by the sleue ' ³⁾); , *cum debeat multum, quod obtigit pecuniae, nequiter prodigit* ', is translated by : , when he oweth more then he is worthe, [he] wyll not stycke to lashe prodygallye and set the cocke vpon the hoope ' ⁴⁾). Such renderings, suggestive of the popular tongue of that time, give a new interest to the text through the vivid expressiveness and natural humour, which at the end of the second colloquy culminates in the graphic description of an English dandy of those days ⁵⁾).

Besides such literary improvements, Becke's translation shows a few characteristic changes, suggestive of his own personal circumstances. Foreign names were replaced by some that were better known to his English readers : the , *bajuli Lutetiani* ' become , porters of London ' ; the , *vinum Belnense* ', which probably was not so familiar to Becke as it was to Erasmus, is replaced by , Reynyshe wyne ', and the uncommon , *Sicambria* ' is changed into , Nassen or Hessen ', as probably the allusion was not understood ⁶⁾). Other places betray Becke's sympathies and scruples : from the list of calamities foreboding the coming Doomsday, he omitted the publishing of his favourite

¹⁾ *TD*, 329, 337, 403, 424, 498, 514, 545, 576, 705, 761, 764, 771, 914, 957, 1002, 1022, 1055, &c.

²⁾ *TD*, 109, 465, 645, 649, 822, 878, 909, 910, 944, 962, &c.

³⁾ *TD*, 912.

⁴⁾ *TD*, 1028; cp. also 699, 908, 975, 981, 1007, 1017, 1077, &c.

⁵⁾ *TD*, 1111 to 1137.

⁶⁾ *TD*, 284, 325, 1143 : cp. the notes.

author's *Colloquia*, which he considered , bothe delectable, frutefull, & expedient to be knowen ' ¹⁾). Not that he approved of every detail in them : evidently some ill-sounding words must have offended him, for in one place he left out the mention of the devil; in another he made it less ominous by adding the pious ejaculation used in former ages, , god saue vs ' ²⁾). The insertion of the old oath , by saynt Mary ' ³⁾) sounds as a protest against the extravagant doctrines of some of the , gospellers ' of his days, Joan Bocher and the Anabaptists. Where Erasmus says of , the gray freers ' that they carry about St. Francis's rule, Becke uses the past tense, , were wonte to beare ', which shows that they had left England ⁴⁾); and where the *Colloquium* mentions the deacons, stating that they sing the gospel, he adds the gloss : , that the people may heare them, althoughe they do not vnderstand it ' ⁵⁾), which implies that he fully sympathised with the introduction of the English language in the Liturgy by royal authority. Nor was it a mere accident that he omitted the passage of the original about the injustice of those who debase coinage, and cause trouble by the decrease of the monetary value ⁶⁾): it was not the place of King Edward's , moost humble and obedient subiect ', as he styled himself in the *Dedicatory Epistle* to his Bible, to accuse either directly or indirectly his sovereigns of the evil that was then cruelly visiting the country, and had be-

¹⁾ *TD*, 632; 67.

²⁾ *TD*, 519, 645.

³⁾ *TD*, 593.

⁴⁾ *TD*, 282.

⁵⁾ *TD*, 305 : Erasmus' concise wording is spun out very much, prob. as the liturgy referred to had become unfamiliar.

⁶⁾ *TD*, 998.

come an actual calamity, causing misery and rebellion and a general discontent ¹⁾). Declining even the possibility of labouring under a suspicion, he preferred to be unfaithful to the , famous clerke D. Erasmus ', who was dead and buried, rather than to a living King, or to his own patron, to whom he did , not onely owe seruyce, but [him] selfe also ' ²⁾).

4. The Edition.

The *Two Dyaloges* were printed , at Cantorbury in saynt Paules paryshe by John Mychell ' : he was probably identical with the *John Mychell bookbinder*, whose name was entered on the list of the *intrantes* for 1533-4 in the ward of Burgate comprising St. Paul's parish ³⁾). He started printing in London , at the long shop in the Poultry ', probably after 1546, when Kele had left it, and before Alde set up in the same premises. He issued there at least two books before removing to Canterbury where, judging from the dates of six of the fifteen works that came from his press, he was

¹⁾ Strype, II, 168, 170, 193, 238, &c. (1548); Hugh Latimer had some trouble, when, with his usual bluntness of speech, he denounced in a sermon before Edward VI. the ever increasing amount of copper introduced into the gold and silver coins, which had been started by Henry VIII. and was carried even further under his son : *Works* (Parker Society edit.) : Cambridge, 1844-5 : II, 41, 112; — cp. Froude, *Hist.*, VII, 2-8; *CMH*, II, 470.

²⁾ *TD*, 19.

³⁾ He is recorded to have paid viij d. on that account : J. M. Cowper, *Intrantes : A list of Persons Admitted to Live and Trade within the City of Canterbury On Payment of an Annual Fine from 1392 to 1592* : Cant., 1904 : 197 ; 170 : one John Mychel, , yoynour ', possibly the printer's father, is recorded to have paid xij d. in 1513-14 in the ward of Newyngate. Cp. Dr. Wellfitt, *Minutes collected from Ancient Records and Accounts of Transactions in the City of Canterbury* : Cant., 1801 : nos 24, 28.

printing from 1549 to 1556 at least ¹⁾. If Strype's statement is exact, Becke's translation of the two Colloquies was among the first books he issued there ²⁾. It forms a small 8° volume, the size of the printed space being 113 by 72 mm.; it contains three quires of eight leaves, and a fourth of only two, with the signatures A⁸ B⁸ C⁸ D², and without pagination. The title, reproduced here in facsimile ³⁾, is on f° [Ai]r; f° [Ai] v is blank; on f° Aii r begins *The preface to the Reader*; it precedes the translation extending to [D₂]r, and followed by the colophon, the last page being blank. The initials of the preface and of each Colloquy are ornamental ⁴⁾; the text is set in a rather big black-letter type, of which the supply does not seem to have been very abundant, at least for the capitals: the lower case y and w often replace Y and W; from f° [B₅] to [C₆] a black-letter capital J of a much smaller size is used ⁵⁾; and from C₁ r to the end of the book the names of the personages (Bea. and Boni.) are almost

¹⁾ AmHerb, III, 1453; Duff, *PrPr*, 117-119; Duff, *Cent.*, 107; *HLEP*.

²⁾ *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum... to the year 1640*: London, 1884: I, 594: [1550].

³⁾ A border in red ink has been drawn round the title by one of the possessors.

⁴⁾ They are reproduced here in facsimile.

⁵⁾ The smaller J's are used most frequently on ff [B₅] and [B₆]: from l. 539 to l. 618, there are 8 J's against 6 J's; on the next four pages the bigger J occurs exclusively (15 times) until the very last lines, where there are 2 J's; that difference between [B₆] and [B₇], which is parallel with that between [C₆] and [C₇], suggests that Mychell did not print the 16 pages of one gathering at once, but divided them into two half quires: 1-2-7-8, and 3-4-5-6; for when the inner half sheet 3-4-5-6 was ready, he was again well stocked with J's, which always seem to be wanting more on the 5th and 6th leaves of a gathering, than on the 7th and even the 8th: cp. McKerrow, 31-34.

regularly ¹⁾ in the same small black-letter types which supplied the capital J.

Of this little book two copies are known to be extant : one, used for this reprint, belongs to the British Museum : press mark C. 57. aa. 29, formerly 12330. a. 19 ²⁾; the other is in the Cambridge University Library : press mark Syn. 8. 55. 36 ³⁾. They differ only in two places : on line 809 (f° [C₃] r) the Cambridge copy has , shhuld ', whereas that of London reads , shuld ' : evidently a misprint corrected during the printing process. On line 711 (f° Ci r) the Cambridge copy has in the word *pasle*, a very clear ligature ff (ss), whereas in the London one that ligature looks like fl (sl). As it is not possible to place the two volumes next to each other, it can hardly be decided whether it is the same ligature in both copies, well printed off in one, and very defectively in the other; or whether there is a real misprint, or at least a very imperfect ligature, in one, which was corrected or replaced whilst that sheet was going through the press. In the latter supposition there is in each copy a mistake righted in the other; it implies that Mychell, probably on account of the limited quantity of type ⁴⁾, printed with half quires : the outer one, comprising ff. C₁, C₂, C₇ and C₈, being corrected in the Cambridge copy; the inner one, ff. C₃, C₄, C₅ and C₆, in that of London.

¹⁾ In 87 cases out of 94.

²⁾ The leaves measure 125 by 87 mm; the copy is bound in red leather, and bears the date Aug. 1, 1864.

³⁾ The copy is bound in brown leather, and is dated 1888.

⁴⁾ Cp. p. xxv, note 5.

reference marks and ornaments, disposition of catch-words, of signatures and (for the *Diuersoria*) of running titles.

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<i>TD</i> , 147	<i>instead of</i> suche	<i>please read</i> such
255	greate	great
440.	inough	inoughe
478	God	god
513	shat	that
761	peophe	people

A Mery Dialogue.

<i>MD</i> , 131	<i>instead of</i> fro	<i>please read</i> frö
586	Fyrst and	Fyrst &
846	him	him.

Ye Pylgremage of Pure Devotyön.

<i>PD</i> , 943	<i>instead of</i> desyryd	<i>please read</i> desyred
1126	gra-	grä-
1475 (<i>margin</i>)	ost	lost

II. — A MERY DIALOGUE

1. The Latin Original and the Allusion to Jane Colte.

The colloquy *Conjugium*, or Vxor Μεμψίγαμος, was one of the ten dialogues added to the series of *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulae* in the issue of August 1523 ¹⁾. An earnest and serious matron Eulalia proposes some of Plutarch's *Præcepta Conjugalia* to one of her acquaintances, who shares both the name and the quarrelsome temper of Socrates' wife. The few instances added to explain the moral lessons were evidently suggested to Erasmus by real incidents. Thus Plutarch's advice of bringing a refractory wife to obedience by invoking her father's authority, is illustrated by what befell to his great friend More ²⁾. In 1505 the latter had married a mayden of .xvii. yeare olde brede and brought vp of a chylde in the countre ³⁾, and well might Master John Colte, of New Hall or Netherhall, in Essex ⁴⁾, say to his daughter that he feared many tymes that she neuer [would] haue bestowed her ⁵⁾, as Thomas chose Jane lest the eldest of three girls should see a younger and more accomplished sister preferred before her in marriage ⁶⁾. Erasmus' letters and this Colloquy record the very

¹⁾ Basle, Froben : *BB*, E, 448.

²⁾ *MD*, 345-459. ³⁾ *MD*, 348-350.

⁴⁾ History agrees with this *Colloquium* about John Colte's witty, playful and humorous character : *MD*, 423-426; Audin, 81-2; cp. Stapleton, 218, 223; Sampson, *xiii*, *xv*, 205; Allen, *More* : *xii*, 6, 11; Brémond, 47; Ph. Morant, *History of Essex* : London, 1768 : II, 363; 491, &c; G. F. R. Colt, *History and Genealogy of the Colts* : London, 1887 : 232-4, 237; Allen, III, 829, 27.

⁵⁾ *MD*, 410.

⁶⁾ Sampson, 205; Brémond, 47; Seebohm, 160.

same details about More and his young wife : they state that the , well lerned and veri honest man ' was an eligible husband for any lady : *potuisset ille opulentissimæ clarissimæque fœminæ maritus esse*¹⁾; that he gave Jane Colte a literary and artistic training : *virginem duxit admodum puellam, claro genere natam, rudem adhuc, vtpote ruri inter parentes ac sorores semper habitam, quo magis illi liceret illam ad suos mores fingere. Hanc et literis instituendam curauit & omni musices genere doctam reddidit*²⁾; and that he used to exercise her and their children's memory and judgment by making them , repete suche thynges as [they] harde at sermons ' : *Hæc tibi totam pene concionem ordine referunt, non sine delectu : si quid stulte, si quid impie, si quid extra rem effutiit ecclesiastes — quemadmodum hodie non raro fieri videmus —, id norunt vel ridere vel negligere vel detestari. Atque hoc demum est audire sacras conciones*³⁾. As to the difficulties experienced in the first months of his married life, of which his biographers could hardly suspect the possibility, it is through a confidential whisper of the intimate guest in the young household at Bucklersbury⁴⁾, that we hear how Jane Colte became the *uxorcula* who , tyll her endynge daye ', in the summer of 1511, was so submissive that

¹⁾ MD, 346, 413; letter to Q. Talesius : Oct. 31, 1532 : EE, 1456, c.

²⁾ Letter to Hutten, Antwerp, July 23, 1519 : Allen, IV, 999, 169-171 : in his *colloquium* Erasmus used almost the same words as in that letter : ... *puellam virginem... Rudem... quo facilius illam ad suos mores fingeret : cœpit eam instituere literis ac musica...* EOO, I, 704, d : cp. MD, 348, 353, 356.

³⁾ Letter to Budeus : Anderlecht, <Sept.,> 1521 : Allen, IV, 1233, 133-137; MD, 358.

⁴⁾ Erasmus mentions More's *facillima coniux* in his letter to Ammonius, another intimate friend of the family : London, 15 May <1511> : Allen, I, 221, 31.

, there was none so vyle a thyng but that she woulde laye handes on it redely with all her herte, if her husband wolde let her, so great loue was begō and assured betwene them'; and how More on the advice of his favourite Greek authors, shaped his unwilling spouse, *plane talem pene... quicum lubuisset vniuersam aetatem exigere, ni mors praematura puellam sustulisset e medio* ¹⁾).

2. The English Translation.

Very few *colloquia* were as popular as the *Coniugium*. It was too full of good and sound doctrine, and it treated an ever recurring question with too much humour and common sense, to be long kept aloof from the ordinary man. It was at once translated into different languages ²⁾, and it probably was soon made accessible to the average English reader. Indeed the language in which the *Mery Dialogue* of 1557 is written, is much more antiquated than that of the *Two Dyaloges*, published about 1549 ³⁾ : this can hardly be due to the translator's or the printer's linguistic conservatism, but suggests rather a long interval between the date of this edition and the time at which it was made — 1540, or 1530 or even 1525. Judging by the typographical irregularities of Kytson's issue, in which a line at least was left out ⁴⁾, one was

¹⁾ MD, 450, &c.; letter to Hutten : Antwerp, July 23, 1519 : Allen, IV, 999, 172.

²⁾ In 1524 appeared two German renderings, others in 1525, 1545, 1550 and 1567; one in Low German was published in 1527; in 1529 it was translated into Spanish; in 1541, into French; in 1545, into Italian : many of these translations were edited several times : cp. *Bib. Er.*, I, 44; *BE*, E, 836, 42; 837.

³⁾ Cp. notes on spelling and language, pp. 225-6, 235-6.

⁴⁾ MD, 601; cp. also MD, 144, 169, 195, 614, 760, &c.

repeated, and several others fell short of the regular length ¹⁾, it appears to have been reproduced from a printed model, and not from a manuscript. This model may have been the contemporary issue by his competitor Abraham Vele; though it is far more likely that it was the old edition of the translation, published about the time it was composed — for the argument of the antiquated language holds not only for Kytson's, but also for any issue of 1557 or thereabouts.

Although the matter treated, and the racy language of the rendering remind us of Erasmus' friends and Thomas More's congenial relatives, John Rastell and John Heywood ²⁾, nothing is known about the author of this vivid, and, on the whole, very accurate translation; the only detail that points to his personal opinions or circumstances, is the exclamation, *by sayncte Marie* ³⁾, which he added to the text. He evinces a great mastery both over classic Latin and idiomatic English, though some of the niceties of the original were not felt, or at least not rendered: such are the pun on *vir*, man and husband; Epictetus' theory about the handles of things, and the opposition between *Eulalia* and *Pseudolalia*, which names were merely translated ⁴⁾. Except for a few expressions, either rendered by shorter and vaguer terms ⁵⁾, or left out altogether ⁶⁾, the peculiar Latin turns are represented by English equivalents, which are at least as effective ⁷⁾: thus, instead of general terms, pic-

¹⁾ Cp. *MD*, 774; — 87, 225, 308, 585, 626, 729, 847.

²⁾ *Jasp. Heyw.*, viii, ix; cp. p. xxxiv.

³⁾ *MD*, 720.

⁴⁾ *MD*, 627, 676-680, 746; also 151, 776, &c.

⁵⁾ *MD*, 223, 446, 482, 586, 591.

⁶⁾ *MD*, 118, 147, 208, 246, 462, 731.

⁷⁾ Cp. *MD*, 85, 89, 157, 377, 421, 487, 578, 620, 623, 665, 700, 750, 754, 836, 837.

turesque details are given, which add life, strength and vividness to the description : whereas Erasmus' Xantippa is merely *pannosa*, the English shrew has , not an hole smock to put on [her] backe' ; on the intimation that her husband might have touched her, the former declares : *sensisset mihi non deesse manus* ; whilst the latter exclaims : , he shulde not haue founde me lame : J woulde haue holden his nose to the grīd-stone' ; with reference to the husband who comes home very late, Eulalia asks in the *Colloquium* : *Non tu tum illum excipis jurgio* ? but inquires in the translation, with a nice point of irony : , Doest thou not then take him vp, well fauoredly for stūbling ?' ¹⁾. By such expressive renderings the Colloquy gains in strength and colour, and affords a rich store of idiomatic sentences, picturesque sayings and proverbial phrases, some of which are not recorded anywhere else. As this translation was not devised for the scholar, but for the average man, who is partial to pithy expressions, who does not feel the impropriety of some terms, nor objects to see produced in print the shortened sentences and the repetitions of the colloquial language, the *Mery Dialogue*, is not only a brilliant rendering of Erasmus' text, but also a most interesting document illustrating the quaint popular English of the xvith century.

3. The Editions.

The translation reproduced here was , Imprynted at London in Paules church yearde, at the sygne of the Sunne by Antony Kytson' or Kitson ²⁾, in 1557; it

¹⁾ *MD*, 26, 82, 63; other instances are *MD*, 35, 46, 54, 60, 76, 77, 81, 94, 249, 265, 279, 285, 371, 428, 458, 514, 582, 583, 681, 705, 750, 780, 806, &c.

²⁾ Duff, *Cent.*, 86; AmHerb, II, 873; Arber, I, 94, &c.

forms a small 8° volume ¹⁾, containing two quires of eight, and one of four leaves, with the signatures A⁸ B⁸ C⁴, of which [A₁] v and [C₄] v are blank ²⁾. The 'Dialogue', set in black letter, takes up ff A ij r to C ij v; on C iij r there is a tale of a man with a dumb wife, extending to f° [C₄] r, and followed by the colophon, of which the first part announces the end of the Colloquy, the second gives the printer's name and address. The only copy known to be extant belongs to the British Museum : press mark C. 57. aa. 30, formerly 8415. a. 30 ³⁾.

Dibdin's issue of Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities* ⁴⁾ describes an edition of the *Mery Dialogue* in the same year 1557 by Abraham Vele, or Veale ⁵⁾; it has as title :

A mery dialogue, declaryng the properties of shrowde shrewes & honest wyues : not onely very pleasaunt, but also not a litle profitable : made by the famouse Clerke D. Erasmus Roterodamus, Translated in to Englyshe. Anno M.D.LVII.

This book also consists of three quires, two of eight, A and B, and one, C, of four leaves; the text extends from f° A₂ r to f° C₄ r, which has the colophon :

The ende of this plesaūt dialogue declaring the seuerall properties of the two contrarye dysposycyons of the wyues afore sayd. Imprynted at London, in Paules Churchye yarde at the sygne of the Lambe by Abraham Vele.

¹⁾ The printed space (without catchword) measures 117 by 68 mm., the page itself, 128 by 86 mm.; there is no pagination.

²⁾ The title-page and the initial (on f° Aij r) are reproduced here in facsimile.

³⁾ A note on a fly-leaf pronounces it, very rare if not unique'.

⁴⁾ London, 1819 : IV, 360; AmHerb, II, 778.

⁵⁾ Duff, *Cent.*, 161; AmHerb, II, 772; Arber, I, xvi, 94, &c.

Hazlitt ¹⁾, describing these two issues of the *Mery Dialogue*, expresses the supposition that they were in reality one and the same edition, some copies circulating under the printer's name, Vele, others under the bookseller's, Kytson. As no copy of Vele's edition is known to be in existence, the only elements for a comparison are the titles and the colophons; if those quoted by Dibdin and Hazlitt are correct, the difference in the spelling, and the word 'dysposycyons' used in Vele's colophon, where Kytson has 'disposers', suggest two separate editions. To be true, Kytson issued only books printed by others; but this may be an exception, and there is no need to doubt his definite statement: 'Imprynted... at the sygne of the Sunne, by Antony Kytson'. On the contrary the careless printing, and the numerous mistakes make it improbable that an able tradesmen like Vele should have brought out, or sold such a slovenly piece of work to a colleague. It seems rather as if the latter had wanted to profit by the run on a popular book: the *Mery Dialogue*, apparently published about 1530, had been reprinted by Vele in 1557; and in order to secure part of the successful sale, Kytson hurriedly reproduced a copy of the original edition. The numerous misprints ²⁾, the bewildering use of punctuation marks, the repetition or omission of words and of

¹⁾ HazBCN, III, 1 (London, 1887), 76, refers to Kytson's issue; in HazHb., 186, Vele's edition is described, and another is indicated as 'Imprynted at London for Antony Kytson. n. d. 4to.': notwithstanding the note added, Knight, in 1847, £5. 7 s. 6 d.', this edition is probably imaginary, being due to a misreading of 'by Antony Kytson' as 'for A. K.'

²⁾ The carelessness of Kytson's reprint for spelling and punctuation is clearly shown by a comparison of his *Tale of the Dumb Wife*, with that in *A C. mery Talys*.

entire clauses, the spaces at the end of many lines, and other irregularities in his issue, are due to his lack of experience in the craft, or at least to his headlong hurry in supplying this reprint for an eager market.

Even the presence of the Tale of the Dumb Wife may be due to the same circumstances : Kytson's pages may have been more compact than Vele's, or those of the original edition; and wanting to avoid the appearance of publishing a *Dialogue* that was not complete, he devoted the three pages he had saved to a popular tale ¹⁾. This tale does not seem to have been included in the original plan : it starts without title, with only a bigger initial to separate it from the Colloquy; it is followed by the colophon, which, being copied on that of the older edition, ignores the existence of the tale, and announces the end of the 'pleasant dialogue'. Still it always remains possible that Kytson, even for this tale, imitated his model, and that he reproduced page by page, and almost line by line, the first edition; in which case John Rastell ²⁾, 'at the sygne of the meremayde', who, about 1525, published the *A C. mery Talys* he had probably collected himself, may have been also the translator of Erasmus' Colloquy, which he apparently printed about that time, and which he followed up by one of his own *Talys* to fill the three last pages that had remained blank.

4. The Tale of the Dumb Wife.

The story of the 'dumb wyfe' begins on f° Ciii r;

¹⁾ The tale counts 64 lines, and the Colloquy occupies 34 pages, which implies that Kytson nearly gained two lines on each page. — This way of avoiding blanks was not rare : cp. McKerrow, 194.

²⁾ *HLEP*; Duff, *Cent.*, 129.

it is reprinted from the popular jestbook *A C. mery Talys*, in which it is entitled : ¶ *Of the man that had the dome wyfe.* lx. ¹⁾). Except for the spelling of some words, written indifferently, the two texts are quite identical; that of the *Mery Dialogue* has the advantage of being complete, whereas a few lines are missing in the *Mery Talys* ²⁾). The printer, in looking for matter to fill the blank between the end of the *Dialogue* and the colophon, which was to come on the same page as in Vele's, or in the older, edition, was presumably under the influence of Eulalia's remark : , this is all oure fautes, neyghbour Xantippa, that whē we begyn ones to chat our tounge neuer lie ' ³⁾). This story of the *Dumb Wyfe* was very popular in his century ⁴⁾). John Heywood in his *Proverbs* makes the husband say to his wife ⁵⁾ :

I would
Thy tongue were coold to make thy tales more cold.
That aspen leafe such spitefull clapping hath bred,
That my cap is better at ease then my head.

In the ballad of *The Wanton Wife of Bath*, one of the stanzas runs as follows ⁶⁾ :

, They say, ' quoth Thomas, , women's tongues,
Of aspen-leaves are made. '
, Thou unbelieving wretch, ' quoth she,
, All is not true that's sayd. '

¹⁾ W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books* : London, 1864 : I, 87.

²⁾ *MD*, 892 to 900.

³⁾ *MD*, 305; the Tale may have been in the older edition : cp. p. xxxiv.

⁴⁾ In the xviith of the *A C. mery Talys* (p. 36-37) : , *Of the foure elementes where they shoulde sone be founde* ', it reads : , The wynde sayde : yf ye lyst to speke wyth me, ye shall be sure to haue me among aspyne leuys or els in a womans tong. '

⁵⁾ Heyw., 146; Farmer, 85.

⁶⁾ Th. Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* : London, 1891 : III, 336.

Dekker alludes to the tale in his play : *The Wonder of a Kingdome* ¹⁾ :

CARGO : The little Paraquinto that was heere when the Duke
Was feasted, shee had quick-silver in her mouth, for
Her tongue, like a Bride the first night, never lay still.
NICOLLETO : The same Aspen-leafe, the same...

III. — Y^e PYLGREMAGE OF PURE DEVOTYON

1. Erasmus' Colloquy.

Erasmus' *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo* appeared in February 1526, forming with *Puerpera*, Ἰχθυοπαγία and *Funus*, the auctarium to the *Familiarium Colloquiorum Opus* issued by John Froben at Basle ²⁾. It embodies his opinions about the cult of the saints and their relics, as well as about pilgrimages, which had become immoderate and excessive in those centuries of good faith, when historic truth and authenticity were nearly completely neglected for beneficent moral influence.

Erasmus relates in this Colloquy his own experience in the matter : he entrusts the narrative to one *Ogygius* or Theban man ³⁾, declaring even by the choice of that name his interest in Greek learning which, in opposition to the common prejudice against that language,

¹⁾ *The Dramatic Works* : London, 1873 : IV, 231.

²⁾ *BB*, E, 460.

³⁾ From *Ogyx* or *Ogyges*, the builder of Thebes : cp. S. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 8 ; XXI, 8, 2 ; Erasmus' *Adagium* : *Ogygia mala* : EOO, II, 674, B.

reference marks and ornaments, disposition of catch-words, of signatures and (for the *Diuersoria*) of running titles.

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III. — Y° PYLGREMAGE OF PURE DEVOTYON

1. Erasmus' Colloquy.

Erasmus' *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo* appeared in February 1526, forming with *Puerpera*, Ἰχθυοπαγία and *Funus*, the auctarium to the *Familiarium Colloquiorum Opus* issued by John Froben at Basle ²⁾. It embodies his opinions about the cult of the saints and their relics, as well as about pilgrimages, which had become immoderate and excessive in those centuries of good faith, when historic truth and authenticity were nearly completely neglected for beneficent moral influence.

Erasmus relates in this Colloquy his own experience in the matter : he entrusts the narrative to one *Ogygius* or Theban man ³⁾, declaring even by the choice of that name his interest in Greek learning which, in opposition to the common prejudice against that language,

¹⁾ *The Dramatic Works* : London, 1873 : IV, 231.

²⁾ *BB*, E, 460.

³⁾ From *Ogyx* or *Ogyges*, the builder of Thebes : cp. S. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XVIII, 8 ; XXI, 8, 2 ; Erasmus' *Adagium* : *Ogygia mala* : EOO, II, 674, B.

he never omits to express whenever he finds an opportunity ¹⁾. The part of critic is given to the second collocutor *Menedemus*, whose name and opinions recall both the founder of the Eretrian school, famous for his simple, upright living, and the severe and censoring disciple of Diogenes and Antisthenes ²⁾.

In this Colloquy Erasmus merely mentions Compostella and St. Patrick's Purgatory, which he never saw ³⁾; he hardly refers to the numberless places of pilgrimage on the continent which he certainly knew, but dwells on two of the most famous shrines in England ⁴⁾. It is recorded that he twice visited Walsingham : a first time in 1512, when he offered a *Carmen Votivum* in Greek ⁵⁾, to which he alluded in a letter to Ammonius, May 9, 1512 ⁶⁾. In 1514, he went again, accompanied by one of his youthful collaborators, Robert Aldridge ⁷⁾, and narrated his experience in the first part of the *Peregrinatio*.

¹⁾ Cp. Erasmus' letter to Wolsey, April 25, 1526 : Allen, VI, 1697, 118; Thomas More's *Apologia pro MORIA ERASMI, qua etiam docetur quam necessaria sit Linguae Graecae cognitio*, addressed to Dorp, Oct. 21, 1515 : ML, 365; *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxvii, 548; *Age Er.*, 118; Blunt, I, 65, 427; *LCran.*, 213, *pr. c.*; *PD*, 273, 1024, 1197.

²⁾ Cp. Cicero, *Academic.*, II, 129; *De Oratore*, I, 85; Diog. Laert., II, 17; Aul. Gell., XIII, 5; Erasmus' *Apophthegmata of Menedemus Eretriensis* and *Menedemus Rhodius*: EOO, IV, 317, D; 332, E; 339, D; 350, C.

³⁾ *PD*, 564, 2112; cp. EOO, I, 639, A.

⁴⁾ Cp. Nichols; Seebohm, 273-5, 288 to 293.

⁵⁾ *Carmen jambicum, ex voto dicatum Virgini Walsinghamicae*, published first in his *Lucubrationes* of 1515 (Schurer, Strassburg): EOO, V, 1325, B.

⁶⁾ *Ego... pro felici rerum ecclesiasticarum successu votum suscept... Visam virginem Vualsingamicam atque illic Graecum carmen votivum suspendam. Id, si quando te illo contuleris, require*: Allen, I, 262, 4-8.

⁷⁾ Allen, I, 281, 4; VI, 1656; *Inol.*, 19; *DNB*.

In that same year he journeyed also to Canterbury with his friend John Colet, as results from a passage of his *Modus Orandi Deum* : , In Anglia offerunt osculandum calceum divi Thomæ, quondam Episcopi Cantuariensis : qui forte calceus est alicujus balatronis : & ut sit, quid ineptius quam adorare calceum hominis? Vidi ipse quum ostentarent linteola lacera, quibus ille dicitur abstersisse muccum narium, Abbatem ac cæteros qui adstabant, aperto scriniolo venerabundos procidere ad genua, ac manibus etiam sublatis, adorationem gestu repræsentare. Ista Joanni Colet, nam is mecum aderat, videbantur indigna, mihi ferenda videbantur, donec se daret opportunitas, ea citra tumultum corrigendi ' ¹⁾. The second half of this Colloquy relates what befell on that occasion : the *Gratianus Pullus*, introduced as his companion, is, no doubt, John Colet : Erasmus often gave him the epithet of , graceful ' in his writings ²⁾, and probably translated by *Pullus* the name that to his foreign ears must have sounded as , Colte ' ³⁾. He thus paid a

¹⁾ EOO, V, 1119, F ; PD, 1615, 1736, 1907, 2030.

²⁾ The name John itself means , gracious gift of God '.

³⁾ Possibly Erasmus mixed up the name *Colet* and that of *Colt*, *Colte*, the name of More's father-in-law : maybe there was between them only an immaterial difference of spelling. At any rate the similarity of the two easily accounts for the sort of pun to which Erasmus was partial. The fact that in the *Pylgremage* the Latin *Pullus* is translated by *Colte* (PD, 1615), gives more probability to this supposition. This explanation of the pseudonym seems more acceptable than that which is usually quoted with reference to his dress : *Non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur, cum illic vulgo sacerdotes ac theologi vestiantur purpura* : Allen, IV, 1211, 327, 333 ; cp. Nichols, 127 ; Seebohm, 288-9. For, with Erasmus, the Latin name was generally a translation of the original one, and the instance quoted by Seebohm (in his note : Seebohm, 289) is another example of his way of coining these appellations, instead of corroborating

grateful homage to the memory of the man to whom he was indebted for many of his opinions about Church and religious customs, as he acknowledged in a letter of June 13, 1521, to Judocus Jonas ¹⁾. In that letter he wrote a sketch of Colet's life and character, which exactly corresponds to what we learn in the Colloquy : it describes his virtue ²⁾, his eagerness for study, which made him even read books by heretics ³⁾; and his freedom of judgment about morals and religious practises, which on many a point was in contradiction with what was then generally held ⁴⁾.

2. The PEREGRINATIO in England.

The allusion to men like Colet and Warham was probably calculated to counteract the animosity which Erasmus was sure to rouse through his bitter criticism about the two greatest places of worship in England. His Colloquy had not been out two months, when he applied to Cardinal Wolsey, April 25, 1526 : *Audio isthic librum Colloquiorum distrahi vetitum; quod nec Louanii nec Lutetiae quisquam attentavit* ⁵⁾; a Dominican friar, he added, had taken into England libels by men of his order, full of impudent lies : they had found buyers, whereas his *Colloquia* had been thrown out of bookshops. Possibly matters were not

the theory that *Pullus* should be an allusion to the colour of Colet's apparel. Indeed the name *Leucophaeus* in Ammonius' letter to Erasmus, May 19, <1511> (Allen, I, 221, 34), does not apply to the Dean of St. Paul's, but to Thomas Grey, whose name was thus graecized as early as 1497 : Allen, I, 58, 66.

¹⁾ Allen, IV, 1211 ; *Invl.*, 18.

²⁾ *PD*, 1616 ; Allen, IV, 1211, 307, &c.

³⁾ *PD*, 1621 ; Allen, IV, 1211, 516, &c.

⁴⁾ *PD*, 1617, 1700, 1906 ; Allen, IV, 1211, 419, 476, &c.

⁵⁾ Allen, VI, 1697, 23.

quite as bad as that, he continues : *Quod scripsi de libello Colloquiorum, fortasse Carolus meus* ¹⁾ *perperam ad me detulit : et tamen nihil obfuerit celsitudinem tuam super hac re fuisse monitam* ²⁾); for his book is attacked, not only because it favours Greek erudition, but also because it tries to immunize youth against abuses, especially against undue pilgrimages : *ne cursitent Compostellam, domi relicta uxore ac liberis quos curare praestiterat*, — which shows that he had in mind the *Peregrinatio*. In conclusion he requests the Cardinal to have his book examined by one who is familiar with Greek and Latin, not necessarily by friends, such as More or Tunstall, but by an impartial critic : *Si deprehendantur impia*, he promises, *me quoque suffragante eripiatur iuventuti. Sin offendunt leuiora quaedam, poterunt ex bonorum virorum iudicio corrigi, quo penes iuventutem maneat utilitas* ³⁾).

It is not recorded whether Wolsey complied with this wish; nor whether the opposition against the *Colloquium* subsided. Ten years later, the circumstances had changed : the *Peregrinatio* was translated, and made accessible to the generality of the nation.

3. The English Translation and its Date.

This translation was edited anonymously, without either date, or printer's name. The long preface refers to a contemporary religious movement directed against

¹⁾ Charles Harst, Erasmus' amanuensis, had brought a letter to Cranevelt on his way to England : *LCran.*, 172, *pr.*, 3 ; 177, 2; he returned with letters from More and others; *LCran.*, 182, 14; *FG*, 55, 38; &c.

²⁾ Allen, VI, 1697, 114.

³⁾ Allen, VI, 1697, 64-80.

the veneration of saints and relics, which is called ,ydolatrye' ¹⁾), and against those who on the authority of , that obdurated Phareo,... the byshope of Rome' ²⁾), get their living by the credulity of the masses. These errors were then being redressed ³⁾), first by writings in which ,euery Christen man... may lerne his dewty to god, hys prynce, and hys nebure', namely the ,immaculate scripture of gode', which has a greater weight than all the teachings of the Church ⁴⁾); further by the decrees of the , most dradde soueraygne lorde', who maintains the ,godly and allowable ceremonyes' ⁵⁾), and who, with ,his gracys faythfull and true comens', is the chief and only authority to be obeyed in liturgical and dogmatic questions ⁶⁾). These details evidently apply to the period of Henry VIII.'s reign, when under Cromwell's pressure the religious changes were being forced upon the people.

This preface cannot have been written before 1536, the year when the lesser monasteries were first molested; when the Bible of Tyndale and Coverdale was admitted and printed in England; when the Epistles and Gospels appeared for the first time in the English Service-books, and when the Convocation admitted the *Ten Articles of Religion*, declaring that the only authority in matters of faith was the Bible and the

¹⁾ PD, 64.

²⁾ PD, 176; this name was used when referring to the Pope by an order of the King's Council given towards the end of 1533 : cp. Gairdner, 144; H. de Vocht, , *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions, and Quicke Answeres* ' and their Sources (Anglia, XXI) : Halle, 1910 : 130.

³⁾ PD, 129-131.

⁴⁾ PD, 15, 98.

⁵⁾ PD, 158-168.

⁶⁾ PD, 154, 104, 195-199.

three Creeds ¹⁾). On the other hand it was certainly written before 1538, as the King had not yet given his judgment upon the ‘ Sodomiticall actes, and most horryble ypocrysy ’ of the monks ²⁾). The Act of Dissolution of the lesser convents, promulgated in 1536, was not more than an inquiry towards reforming, and an injunction to join larger monasteries ; only in April 1539, an Act of Parliament finally confirmed the dissolution of the abbeys, of which the majority had already come into Henry’s hands, either by the attainder of their abbots, or by the coerced surrender; whereas in the preceding year the ‘ cult of shrines and images ’, the so-called ‘ ypocrysy ’, had been forbidden by authority.

Of course the monasteries, backed by a large part of the population, resented these changes imposed by King and Commons ³⁾). ‘ They perceyue ’, says the translator, ‘ that this theyr dampnable Corbane dothe decay, and that theyr most to be lamented blyndnes and longe accustomed errours shuld be redressed ’; consequently they rebel against their King, rouse the people, and try ‘ to preuente our... soueraigne lordes iudgment, not yet gyuen vpon theyr Sodomiticall actes, and most horryble ypocrysy ’ ⁴⁾). That insurrection is not yet vanquished, and the author prays God that ‘ hys grace with hys moost honorable counsell (agaynst whome this arrogant conspyracy is nowe moued and begonne) may ouercome and debelle the stud traytres as in tymes paste hys maiestye hath prudently do[ne] other, that haue hertofore attempted

¹⁾ Blunt, I, 482-492.

²⁾ *PD*, 140-3.

³⁾ Foxe, 594b-597a.

⁴⁾ *PD*, 126, 139.

to perpetrate and brynge to passe like sedicyous mishief ' ¹⁾). The rising which was being 'debelled' when this preface was written, cannot have been any other than the *Pylgremage of Grace*, which started under Aske in October 1536; it was led by 'stud traytres', namely by monks and by some of the abbots of Yorkshire, together with the Percys and other Durham noblemen, and it was chiefly aimed at the low-born councillors — Cromwell and 'other villein blood' ²⁾ — that surrounded the King, as well as at the Prelates who had been appointed, and who were considered to be the causes of all the trouble ³⁾. This *Rising of the North* was vanquished in December 1536; it broke out again in February 1537, when it was even of a shorter duration: already in March 1537, the North was ruled by martial law, and the leaders were sent to London to be tried, hanged and quartered ⁴⁾.

Consequently this preface was composed between October 1536 and February 1537; the translation of the *Colloquy* itself had already been printed off, as results from the signatures ⁵⁾; and the *Pylgremage* was issued evidently at a time when the circumstances referred to were still lasting — which is fully corroborated by the language and the orthography in which the book was written ⁶⁾.

¹⁾ *PD*, 178.

²⁾ Cp. Foxe, [589]a, &c.

³⁾ Cp. Henry VIII.'s letter to the Rebels in Lincolnshire, and Robert Aske's Address, in *State Papers. Henry VIII.* (London, 1830): I, 463, 466.

⁴⁾ Cp. Blunt, I, 280; Gairdner, 169, 194.

⁵⁾ Cp. further p. *lvi*.

⁶⁾ Cp. notes on the language, pp. 222-5, 234.

4. Occasion of the Translation.

It cannot have been a mere chance that this *Colloquy* appeared at the moment when the ideas set forth in it, were being authoritatively impressed upon England. Most probably the little book was one of the various instruments used by Cromwell, who never introduced an innovation without previously preparing the way to it. Thus the abolishing of the Papal supremacy had been made ready by 'pulpit-tuning', the preachings of bishops and of such as had been commissioned by the Privy Council; the mayor, aldermen and common council of London, together with all country mayors, and the nobility, had likewise been invited by the *Injunctions* of 1534 to 'liberally speak at their boards' about the King's supremacy, and to teach their servants to declare the same ¹⁾. Similarly the suppression of the convents and the abolishing of the cult of saints and shrines by the *Injunctions* of September 1538, had been made seasonable by a series of prescriptions to the deans and to the clergy having care of souls; amongst other things they were counselled in August 1536, not to extol images, relics, or miracles, and to discourage pilgrimages ²⁾. From these prescriptions, which apparently are calm dissuasions, to the vehement charge in Bishop Hilsey's sermon outside St. Paul's about the Rood of Boxley, or to Latimer's address at St. Paul's Cross on the Blood of Hales, 1538, there was a considerable distance to be spanned. Consequently the preachers were to inform the people of the wishes of their masters, whilst ballads, tracts and lampoons to the same effect were circulated, especially

¹⁾ Foxe, 593b; Blunt, I, 271, 317.

²⁾ Cp. Foxe, 572b; Blunt, I, 491; Gairdner, 177; Nichols, 237.

through Cromwell, who, as John Foxe states, 'was moste studious of hym selfe in a flagrant zeale to set forwarde the truthe of the Gospel, sekyng all meanes and wayes to beate down false Religion and to aduance the true'; he therefore 'always retayned vnto hym, and had about hym suche as could be founde to be helpers & furtherers of the same. in the nomber of whom were sundry and dyuerse freshe and quicke wyttes, pertainyng to his famyly, by whose industrie and ingenious labours, diuerse excellent both ballades and bookes were contriued and set abroad, concernyng the suppression of the Pope and Popyshe idolatrie' ¹).

The *Pylgremage of Pure Deuotyon* was without doubt one of these books; in fact it was the best tract to help Cromwell in his purpose. The name of Erasmus was a first recommendation, having always been a great favourite as well with Henry VIII., as with the chiefs and leaders of the then struggling parties, with Cromwell and Tyndale, with Pole and Gardiner ²). His witty criticism of the old abuses and his hinting at new ways, which was the more welcome since King and Council sanctioned these opinions, was English in a sense, as it was as the result of his intimacy with Dean Colet and Thomas More ³). Nor could his description of the pilgrimages to Walsingham and Canterbury have been a more suitable tool in Cromwell's

¹) Cp. Foxe, 598b; Blunt, I, 273, 356. Amongst these 'quicke wyttes' in Cromwell's service was Richard Taverner, a clerk of the King's signet, who revised an edition of Matthew's Bible and wrote many books and pamphlets about religion and learning.

²) *Invl.*, 5.

³) *Invl.*, 18, Seebohm, 102.

hands to work upon the people's opinion, if it had been specially and intentionally written for that purpose. To Cromwell, Cranmer and Henry VIII. nothing could have been more pleasing than the criticism of Canterbury : for they seized every opportunity to run down the fame and the worship of Thomas a Becket, whom they hated as the chief agent in fastening the chains of Papal power on Henry II. and his realm, which the latter's successor was so eager — and yet dreaded — to break ¹⁾.

The vice-gerent and his council evidently were thoroughly acquainted with the Colloquy ; indeed amongst the nineteen *Articles of Inquiry*, which they gave to the Royal Commissioners for their visit to the monastery of Walsingham, there are several 'queries' that were formulated from Erasmus' description in the *Peregrinatio*. They are ²⁾ :

- 4 Jtem what reliques be in this house that be or hath ben moste in thestimation of the people, and what virtue was esteemed of the people to be in theym.
- 5 Jtem what probacion or argument haue they to shewe that the same are trewe reliques ³⁾.
- 6 Jtem in howe many ^a places of this house were the said reliques shewed, and whiche were

TEXTUAL NOTES (W = writer) : a many] between lines

¹⁾ Cp. the *Certain Iniunctions geuen out... the vi. daye of Nouembre, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1539* : Foxe, 572b.

²⁾ These *Articles* are amongst the *Collectanea Ecclesiastica*, a manuscript in the British Museum, London : *Bibl. Harl.*, n^o 791, f^o 27, r and v. This document seems to have been the original draught, since it contains several corrections and additions which are those of an author, not of a copyist.

³⁾ Cp. *PD*, 805, &c. ; 940, &c.

in which ? and ^b whether the keepers o[f]
the same did not bring about ^c tables to
men for their offering, as though t[hey]
wolde exacte money of theym, or make
theym ashamed except they did offer ^b 1) ?

7 Jtem for what cause were the said reliques
shewed in diuer[s] sundrye places more than
alltogether in one place 2).

[10] Jtem ^d what is the gretest miracle and moste
vndoubted which is said ^e to have ben doon
by our Ladye here, or by any of the said
reliques? And what prouffe they haue of the
facte or the narracion therof.

[11] Jtem whether than (yf the facte be welle
proued) the case might not happen by some
naturall meane not contrarie to reason or
possibilitie of nature 3).

[12] Jtem, yf that be proued also whether ^f the
same might not procede of the immediate
helpe of god ? and why the successe of that
case shulde be imputed to our Lady, and
yet ^g that to the image of our Lady in this
house more than a nother 4) ?

[14] Jtem what is the sayng of the buylding ^h of
our Lady chappell and of the firste Jnuencion
of thimage of our Lady there ; what of the
house where the bere skynne is, & of the

TEXTUAL NOTES : ^b and & ^c to offer] added afterwards, partly in the margin
(from wolde to the end) ^c about] W2 ; foorth W1 ^d Jtem & ^e] on
^f 27 v ^e is said] W2 ; they rekyn W1 ^f whether] W2 ; why W1
^g yet] between lines ^h buylding] W2 ; comyne W1

1) Cp. PD, 927, 675.

2) Cp. PD, 655, &c. ; cp. Notes.

3) Cp. PD, 790, &c. ; 1445, &c.

4) Cp. PD, 554.

- knyght ⁱ; and what of the other wonders that be here, and what proves be therof ¹) ?
- [16] Jtem whether our Lady hathe doon so many miracles nowe of late as it was said she did whan there was more offring made ^j vnto her ²).
- [18] Jtem whether our Ladys milke be liquide or no ? & yf it be, *Interrogetur* vt in[fra] ³).
- [19] Jtem who was Sexten vpon a x.yeres a goo or therabout, and lett hym be exactly examined whether he hath not renewed that they call our Ladys milke, whan it was like to be dried vp ; and whether euer he hymself inuented any relique for thaugmentacion of his prouffit. And whether the house ouer the well ^k were not made within tyme of remembrance, or at the lest wise renewed ⁴).

The *Declaration of the Faith*, issued by Royal Authority in 1539 ⁵), also bears witness to the influence of Erasmus' Colloquy :

As for Shrines, Capses, and Reliquaries of Saints so called, altho' the most were nothing less, for as much as his Highness hath found, other Idollatry or detestable Superstition used thereabouts, and perceived that they were for the most part feigned things ; ...

TEXTUAL NOTES ; *i* & of the knyght] *added between lines* *j* made] *id* *k* well] possibly welle.

¹) Cp. *PD*, 805 ; 830 ; 728-755.

²) Cp. *PD*, 387, &c.

³) Cp. *PD*, 878.

⁴) Cp. *PD*, 1074 ; 805, &c.

⁵) Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain* London, 1708-1714 : II (*A Collection of Records*), 38*, 39*.

instead of the Mylk of our Lady, a piece of Chalk or of Ceruse, ... and more of the holy Crosse than three Waines may carry. His Majestye therefore hath caused the same to be taken away, &a ¹⁾).

These allusions in the official documents show the great significance of the *Peregrinatio* to those who tried to bring about the change in religion. The details which Erasmus chose in order to prove that the worship of saints and relics should be ruled by reliable truth and sound faith, were used as pretexts to despoil the church which he had once adorned with an ex-voto. When he wrote about the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, he did not anticipate that his apprehension for the fate of its wealth, considering , the euyl conscience and behauyor of them that robb the churchys of what so euer iuellys ther may be founde', was to come true a few months after he had laid down his head for the eternal rest ²⁾). In the light of these considerations, it seems natural that the *Peregrinatio* should have been translated with the intention of making the people side with the King in his struggle against the , arrogant conspyracy' of the monasteries, and , aydyng hys excellent hyghnes to the reformacyon of all pernicious abuses & chiefly of detestable ydolatrie' ³⁾). As there was nothing to induce a private man to procure and publish this translation, it is more than probable that it was made

¹⁾ What follows refers to S. Thomas of Canterbury and his shrine; cp. *PD*, 882; 845.

²⁾ *PD*, 1790; Erasmus had already expressed his fears that Canterbury's shrine might be plundered, in his *Convivium Religiosum*: EOO, I, 684, F-685, A. Cp. Gasquet, II, 387-92.

³⁾ *PD*, 180; 202-205.

on Cromwell's order, or on that of one of his devotees; at any rate, those who prepared the *Articles of Inquiry for Walsingham* were certainly acquainted with it, as can be gathered from the sixth inquiry :

and whether the keepers o[f] the same did not bring about tables to men for their offering.

Without doubt this query refers to the following passage in the *Colloquium* :

Interim mystagogus ad nos accessit, tacitus quidem, sed tabellam porrigens, qualem apud Germanos afferunt, qui in pontibus telos exigunt. ME. Equidem sæpe numero male precatus sum illis petacibus tabellis, cum per Germaniam iter facerem ¹⁾).

Still it was not taken directly from the original, but from the English translation :

Jn the meanseson the sexten came to vs, withowt any wordes, but he held out a table suche as the Germanes vse to gather tolle apon bridges. Me... J haue cursyd veryofte suche crauyng boxes, whan I dyd ryde thorowe Germany ²⁾).

The worde *table* of the *Articles* has, no doubt, the sense of the Latin *tabella*, viz., a kind of flat wooden box, open at the top, with a long handle, which serves to collect money from people two or three yards away. This sense of the word *table* is quite unusual : I have not found another instance. It is hardly conceivable how it could have been chosen by those who wrote

¹⁾ EOO, I, 778, E.

²⁾ PD, 925-932.

the *Articles*, unless they took it from the *Pylgremage of Pure Deuotyon*, in which the choice of the term *table* as translation of *tabella* can easily be accounted for : indeed whenever the Latin text is not understood, the words are translated as nearly as possible, whether the rendering has any sense or not¹⁾. The word *table*, as used here, is evidently a Latinism : two lines further, where *tabella* occurs again in the original, it is translated by '*crauynge boxes*', which seems to imply that the author himself felt the impropriety of the new-coined word²⁾.

5. The Translator and his Rendering.

The connection of the translator with Cromwell and his Council is further suggested by the choice of the Colloquy : in the reign of the *Defensor Fidei*, it was not safe for a private man to venture on theological ground; nor were the measures against convents and the old cult very welcome to the greater part of the nation³⁾. Besides, the *Peregrinatio* was too lenient for a thorough Protestant, and too lashing for a Catholic, and would hardly have been selected unless as a help to propagate the new theories which were forced upon England by the '*most dradde soueraygne lorde*', with '*his gracys faythfull and true comens*', and '*hys moost honorable counsell*', as the preface calls them⁴⁾.

¹⁾ Other instances of literal translation where the sense of the original was not understood, are on *PD*, 678, 746, 897, 1085, 1102, 1116, 1150, 1180, 1300, 1503, 1528, 1550, 1559, 1563, 1687, 1882, 1887; the translator even ignored the word *fiber*, took it for a proper name, and inserted it boldly into his English sentence as '*ye mōstre Fyber*' : *PD*, 587.

²⁾ Cp. further, p. *Lxxv*, and the note to *PD*, 927.

³⁾ Cp. the *Jniunctions* of Nov. 6, 1539 : Foxe, 572 a; Gasquet, II, 39-150; 467.

⁴⁾ *PD*, 154, 158, 179; cp. Blunt, I, 38.

The very style indicates that the translator was one of those 'freshe and quicke wyttes' in Cromwell's family who furthered his policy by ballads and pamphlets ¹). He was evidently conversant with the official acts and documents, and repeatedly mentions such terms as : 'ypocrysy, detestable errorrs, horrible abominations, sodomiticall actes', &c., which abound in the records of the visitors to the monasteries, and in the *surrenders* which the abbots were compelled to sign ²). Thus Henry VIII.'s circular of November 19, 1536, to the bishops, condemns the contemptuous manner of speaking against certain laudable ceremonies of the Church, and admonishes them, not only to preach God's words sincerely, but also to declare abuses plainly, so as to avoid any trouble, commotion or insurrection at their reformation ³) ; now, the tone and terms of the preface to the Colloquy are so similar to those of that circular, that it implies that the one seems to have been written either in imitation or on the inspiration of the other.

All personal details about the translator are wanting; his anonymity may even be due to the purpose of this book, which would have been less effective, if it had been known from which quarter it was issued. Probably for the same reason the printer omitted all

¹) As a specimen of these tracts Foxe quotes, in his *lyfe, actes and death of ... the Lorde Thomas Cromwell*, a ballad or booke intituled *the fantasie of Jdolatrie*, in which the same ideas are expounded as in the preface to, and in the Colloquy, the *Pylgremage*. Among the depreciated places of worship, Walsingham and Canterbury come first : 'To Walsyngham a gaddyng, / To Cantorbury a maddyng, / As men distraught of mynde' &c. : Foxe, 598-[600]. Cp. Blunt, I, 356.

²) Cp. Gairdner, *L. P.*, X, 480 (Thomas Parry to Cromwell), 364 (Visitation of monasteries), &c. ; Blunt, I, 334-40 ; Gasquet, I, 229, &c. ³) Gairdner, *L. P.*, XI, 1110.

marks that might have given a clue as to its provenance ; instead of prepossessing the reader with its set aim, it came out with only the motto , God saue the kynge ', and appealed to the people merely by the name of Erasmus and by the matter treated ¹⁾).

The *Pylgremage* aims at a literal rendering of the Latin Colloquy ²⁾. Its faults and misrepresentations show that the translator had more good will to further Cromwell's plan, than erudition and culture, unless perhaps precipitation in obeying an order be pleaded. His style cannot raise the least claim to suppleness or fluency ; many of his phrases have not even a sense, in so much that a comparison with the Latin text does not always make them more intelligible ³⁾. What the author wrote independently, shows little or no understanding of composition : his halting sentences rove on without aim or measure ⁴⁾. He was no scholar, and the only writings with which he seems to have been acquainted, are, besides the official acts, Erasmus' *Colloquia* and the *Stultitiæ Laus*, from which he borrowed a few sentences for his introduction ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ John Byddell printed, perhaps in similar circumstances, an anonymous translation of another of Erasmus' *Colloquia* : *A seraphicall dirige, disclosing the 7. secret priviledges graunted to S. Frauncis & all his progenie for euer* (8°, without date) : AmHerb, I, 489, 490 ; III, 1565, 1570 ; HLEP, 5.

²⁾ The translator did not render all that Erasmus wrote about the peculiarities of precious stones (*PD*, 1374), which would have required too much explaining.

³⁾ Cp. e. g., *PD*, 563, 746, 1085, 1102, 1150, 1180, 1300, 1399, 1503, 1550, 1559, 1571, 1623, 1687, 1821, 1937, &c.

⁴⁾ The 234 lines of preface comprise only 6 sentences : the first takes up 117 lines, the fifth, 64 (*PD*, 2-118, 150-214 : viz., a length of 7.80 m. and 4.28 m.) ; they compare most unfavourably, e. g., with Thomas More's extended, but effective and well built periods : Delcourt, 271-5.

⁵⁾ Cp. *PD*, 99-126, and *De Utilitate Colloquiorum* : EOO, I, 905, e ; *PD*, 94-95, and *Stultitiæ Laus* : EOO, IV, 409, c.

His knowledge of Latin was very superficial : very often the sense of the original is either not seized, or erroneously rendered ¹⁾. Many interrogations, puns, and witty turns were not understood, or not reproduced as such ²⁾. Other inaccuracies point out his want of acquaintance with religious ceremonies and ecclesiastical prescriptions : thus the reference to the ‘ tables that be sett byfore aultres ’ (Latin : *auratis altaribus*) does not testify to a clear idea of church furniture ³⁾ ; the difference between *Canonici Regulares* and *Seculares* ⁴⁾ altogether escaped him, as well as the right meaning of *religio* or ‘ vow ’, and of indulgences ⁵⁾. Nor was he better versed in antique lore ⁶⁾, for his ‘ tonne of Canaidus ’ can scarcely be set down as a printer’s error for ‘ Danaides ’ ⁷⁾. The marginal notes illustrate his ignorance of natural history : he writes that the ‘ Fyber ’ is a ‘ mōstre ’, ‘ abeste of f̄ see and f̄ land ’, and he identifies the ‘ Cocatrice ’ with a ‘ Crocodile ’ ⁸⁾. Geography, too, was a closed book to him : *Raurachia* is explained merely as ‘ a certayne cuntre ’, and the allusions to the Seine (of which he seems to ignore the French name) and to Paris, are very ambiguous ⁹⁾ ; as to the topogra-

¹⁾ Cp. e. g., *PD*, 268, 271, 315, 341, 374, 389, 419, 433, 448, 457, 466, 493, 507, 569, 591, 601, 617, 636, 678, 746, 778, 782, 807, 819, 830, 1102, 1108, 1131, 1148, 1150, 1169, 1300, 1503, 1563, 1687, &c.

²⁾ *PD*, 405, 412, 558, 655, 660, 854, 1043, 1075, 1085, 1116, 1124, 1195, 1258, 1623, 1700, 1862, 1882, 1937, 2182.

³⁾ *PD*, 1527 ; cp. also *PD*, 361, 721, 897, 1764, 1771, 1862, 2018.

⁴⁾ *PD*, 581, 1108.

⁵⁾ *PD*, 271, 1086, 1102, 1116-23, 1618.

⁶⁾ Cp. *PD*, 237 (*marginal note*), 245 (*id.*), 250, 312, 379, 595, 1302, 1824, 1989, 2116.


⁷⁾ *PD*, 1131.

⁸⁾ *PD*, 586-588 ; similar instances are *PD*, 1038, 1400.

⁹⁾ *PD*, 346, 354, 1093.

phical particulars of Canterbury Cathedral, they have become quite bewildering in his translation ¹⁾). Much better was he schooled in all the controversial topics that were then at issue. He adds some details to the *colloquium* to ridicule the great curse of the monks ; he inserts the then current remarks about their 'slovenfulness', their Mariolatry, and their business-like way of valuing relics ²⁾), whereas the few words of the original about the Eucharist cannot have been omitted accidentally ³⁾). These alterations of Erasmus' text, trifling though they seem, suggest that the translator was either a rash and overzealous pamphleteer in the service of the English church-reformers, or, at least an adulator, who for the sake of pleasing Henry VIII. or Cromwell, undertook a work for which he was hardly qualified.

6. The Edition.


The *Pylgremage*, was issued without date or name of printer, in a small 8^{vo} volume, containing 6 gatherings with the signatures  ⁷ A⁸ B⁸ C⁸ D⁸ E¹⁰. The colloquy begins on f^o A r and extends to f^o [E₁₀] r ; it is followed by the words ' — God saue the kynge — ' as colophon, with a line of small ornaments, used throughout the book to connect the marginal notes with the text ⁴⁾ ; the latter is printed in black-letter

¹⁾ PD, 1550-1561 ; also 1482, 1567-76, 1600, 1687, 1692, 1845, 1862, 2098.

²⁾ PD, 959, 1075, 1410, 1595.

³⁾ PD, 925 ; besides the translation of *Romanus Pontifex*, rendered by 'the bysshope of Rome' : PD, 596, other passages which illustrate the translator's religious opinions are PD, 945, 957, 1441, 1665, 1787, 1790.

⁴⁾ They have been reproduced as nearly as possible in this reprint. Cp. BB, E, 828.

type, with the exception of the names of the speakers, and also of a fair amount of capital Y's, which are in Roman letter, and are represented in this reprint by Italics ¹⁾). There is no pagination, and the printed space is rather narrow ²⁾ on account of the marginal notes, which are set in the same letter as the text. The last page, f° [E₁₀] v is blank. The preliminary matter was evidently composed after the Colloquy had been made ready ; it takes up a gathering, which bears as signature, a cross patée, with dots between the branches  ³⁾. On f° [+₁] r is the title, which is surrounded by a quaint border ⁴⁾ ; the verso of that leaf is blank ; on f° +ij r begins the preface, which was longer than the printer had foreseen, as he had to add a seventh leaf for the last 5 lines, the reverse being blank. This seventh leaf is of the same paper as that of the preliminary gathering, differing from that used for the rest of the book, at least in the only copy known ⁵⁾. As this copy is bound, it cannot be ascertained whether [+₇] was stuck to [+₆], or was one half of a conjugate leaf, of which the other was blank, and has disappeared. From this irregular signature may be safely concluded that the Colloquy itself was set up before the preface ⁶⁾.

Whereas this preface indicates as date the period

¹⁾ Cp. pp. 222-5 ; also p. lxxxv.


²⁾ It measures 114 × 67 mm., exclusive of catchwords and marginal notes ; that of the preface, 109 × 67 mm.

³⁾ This cross seems to be peculiar, and does not appear, as far as is known, in any other English book.

⁴⁾ The title is reproduced in facsimile.

⁵⁾ The chainlines are about 25 mm. distant from each other in the paper of gathering + (+₁ to [+₆]), and also of leaf [+₇] ; they are 34 mm. apart in the paper used for quires A to E.

⁶⁾ McKerrow, 189.

between October 1536 and February 1537 ¹⁾, there is nothing that suggests who the printer may have been. It has been supposed that it was John Byddell (London, 1533-1544), because the words 'God saue the Kynge' precede the colophon in his issue of <Luther's> *De Libertate Christiani* (8vo, without date), and because in his edition of *A worke entytled of y^e olde god and the newe, of the olde faythe & the newe* (8vo, 1534), he printed 'vive le roi' over the colophon ²⁾. As this motto, however, does not occur in any of the other books printed by him, no decisive argument can be gathered from it, no more than from the fact that a leaf-shaped ornament , similar to that under l.235 (f. [+₇] r), comes before the title of his edition of *Common places of scripture orderly, and after a compendious forme of teachynge... by the ryght excellent clerke Erasmus Sarcerius. Translated into English by Rycharde Taverner* (8vo, 1538). For as far as we can judge from the books printed by him, Byddell had none of the small ornaments referred to; nor did he use a small cross (+) as a full stop, which is very frequent in the *Pylgremage*. The paper does not lead to any decision either; nor does the type, which although a common one, looks different from all those in John Byddell's books, except perhaps David Lindesay's *Complaynte and testament of a Popiniay* (1538). The border on the titlepage seems rather scarce; one of the same size and very similar

¹⁾ Cp. p. xliii.

²⁾ Cp. AmHerb, I, 483-90; III, 1565; HLEP; *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the British Museum*: London, 1884: I, 594; Dr R. B. McKerrow, to whom I owe much of the information about these bibliographical details, does not mention either motto in his *Printers' and Publishers' Devices*: London, 1913.

style is found in N. Wyse's *A consolacyon for chrysten people*, printed by John Wayland in 1538 ¹⁾, who had a type closely resembling that of the *Pylgremage*, and several of the small ornaments as well. Still as the border is not the same, and as Wayland does not appear to have had the mark signing the first gathering, nor the small cross used as period, nor some of the ornaments ²⁾, there is hardly any stronger probability in his favour than in Byddell's.

The only copy known of this *Colloquy* belongs to the British Museum : press mark C. 53. a. 25 ³⁾ ; it is bound in brown leather, and has been so badly cropped at the top, that on several pages the upward strokes of b and d, and even part of the smaller letters have been cut off : these pages have been restored and the damaged letters finished by pen. An xviiith century copper engraving representing Erasmus standing in a niche, with an epigram, signed I. Clarke ⁴⁾, has been inserted in front of the title page by one of the former owners of this precious little book, amongst whom were some of England's greatest antiquaries and bibliographers ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. C. E. Sayle, *Early English Printed Books in the University Library of Cambridge* : Cambridge, 1900-7 : I, 125 : in this border the foliage closely resembles that of the *Pylgremage*, but there are no birds ; a similar border was used later on for E. Dering's *Sermon on 25 Febr. 1569*.

²⁾ Espec. one, a flower with 5 petals and a curved stalk.

³⁾ The leaves measure 131 by 91 mm. ; it is dated Oct. 4, 1871.

⁴⁾ Cp. p. lxxii. This engraving is reproduced on p. 98. On the inside of the front cover has been stuck a woodcut representing a pilgrim with shells on hat and coat, carrying a hooded falcon in one hand, and a staff in the other.

⁵⁾ On the fly-leaves are the following inscriptions : *Th. Rawlinson : Legi Octobri 1719.* — *Tho. Hearne : Lent me by Thomas Rawlinson Esq.; read June 25, 1720.* — *William Herbert 1790.* — *John Brand 1797.* — To these names has to be added that of

IV. — DIUERSORIA

1. The Original.

Diversoria was the eighth of a series of ten new dialogues added to the already existing collection of *Familiarium Colloquiorum Formulæ* in Aug. 1523 ¹⁾. It is evidently founded on Erasmus' personal experience, and provides a humorous and vivid picture of French hospitality, and of the inns where he had stayed on his journeys to and from Basle. It was one of the first to be translated into English, although it barely hints at the British hospitality, which is praised in *Philodoxus*, in "Ἀγαμος Γάμος" ²⁾, and in some of his letters. This Colloquy was rendered into Italian in 1545 by Pietro Lauro Modonese ³⁾, and in the nineteenth century it inspired several passages of Scott's *Anne of Geierstein* and Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth*.

2. The Translation.

The English rendering of this Colloquy was published in 1566, in the latter half of which year the Stationers' Company gave to William Griffyth the license to print it :

Recevyd of Wylliam greffeth for his lycence for
pryntinge of a boke intituled ERASMUS ROTOR-

a subscriber to Ames and Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, Mr. William White, who is recorded to have communicated to them this copy (AmHerb, III, ix, 1570), which afterwards passed into Herbert's possession.

¹⁾ Basle, John Froben : BB, E, 448.

²⁾ EOO, I, 861, c, & 830, d.

³⁾ BB, E, 746.

reference marks and ornaments, disposition of catch-words, of signatures and (for the *Diuersoria*) of running titles.

I draw the attention to, and apologize for, the following misprints which escaped me in correcting the proofs : they have been entered in the *Lists of Textual Notes* (between angular brackets < >).

ERRATA

Two Dyaloges.

<i>TD</i> , 147	<i>instead of</i> suche	<i>please read</i> such
255	greate	great
440.	inough	inoughe
478	God	god
513	shat	that
761	peophe	people

A Mery Dialogue.

<i>MD</i> , 131	<i>instead of</i> fro	<i>please read</i> frö
586	Fyrst and	Fyrst &
846	him	him.

Ye Pylgremage of Pure Devotyön.

<i>PD</i> , 943	<i>instead of</i> desyryd	<i>please read</i> desyred
1126	gra-	grä-
1475 (<i>margin</i>)	ost	lost

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¹⁾ Basle, John Froben : BB, E, 448.

²⁾ EOO, I, 861, c, & 830, d.

³⁾ BB, E, 746.

DAMUS contaynyng a moste pleasaunt Dialogue
towchyng the entertaynement and vsage of
gaystes in comen Innes &c/ ... iiii^d ¹⁾).

It was one of the early performances, if not the very first, of the author who only signs E. H., being anxious, as he writes in the preface, about the reception of his attempt by the 'learned', to whom he offers the rendering of the *Diversoria* as a sample of his ability, promising to complete the whole series of Colloquies if the first instalment should meet with an encouraging welcome ²⁾).

This promise was never fulfilled, though the intrinsic value of his achievement can hardly be held responsible for the abandonment of his plan. Indeed his rendering deserves high praise for its faithfulness and accuracy : the sense of the original is represented with exactness and felicity, in as far as the English language lends itself to the purpose. Indeed it was nearly impossible to hit on an adequately corresponding term to some humorous allusions like *compendium*, *cœnobium*, *esse a poculis*, and similar puns ³⁾, in which cases the sense is explained rather than the text translated. In a very few instances the point in the original does not appear to have been noticed : so the comparison of the late dinner with a comedy might have been reproduced without too much difficulty, as well as the pun on the hot baths that have become cold ⁴⁾. Only a few sentences were inaccurately rendered ⁵⁾, and two small passages were left untrans-

¹⁾ AmHerb, II, 924; Arber, I, 334.

²⁾ D, 3-13.

³⁾ Cp. D, 204, 213, 243; also 142, 283, 302, 306, 363, 372, 510, 512.

⁴⁾ Cp. D, 386, 295.

⁵⁾ Cp. notes on D, 142, 169, 302, 342.

lated, at least presuming that *E. H.*'s work is faithfully reproduced ¹⁾). As is natural in a book for the general reader, proper names borrowed from Greek and Roman mythology have been replaced by more familiar ones : instead of *Sirenes* and *Ganymedes*, the 'sweet Mermaides' and a 'minion' are introduced ; the old servant is called 'Grimson' and 'Sinicoxe', probably after some popular characters of those days. Moreover, Erasmus' intricate allusions are explained by periphrases, and his sententious style is expanded ²⁾. Consequently the *Dialogue* cannot boast the concise and vivid vigour of the *Colloquium*, the close texture of which is somewhat frayed and ravelled out, whereas some often recurring phrases, such as 'I pray you' — 'I promise you' — 'I put you out of doubt' — 'me thinks' — and similar botches, hinder the progress of the conversation. What the translation, however, loses in conciseness, it gains in raciness and picturesqueness : *vultu, quasi interfecturi*, for instance, becomes 'suche a bigge an<d> frowning countenaunce as if the Deuyl should loke ouer L^NCOLN'; *probe domito stomacho*, is rendered by : 'the world beinge well amended with them'. Passages abound in which the author found an occasion to insert some effective sayings ³⁾, or words and phrases which, besides representing faithfully the sense of the original, are typical of the English of the days of Shakespeare's childhood.

¹⁾ Cp. notes on *D*, 429, 443.

²⁾ Cp. *D*, 44, 324, 396, 437; also 64, 84, 144, 204, 213, 243, 294, 303, 342, 381, 512.

³⁾ *D*, 350, 375; also *D*, 64, 78-9, 82, 124, 137, 220, 251, 258, 313, 365, 428, 451, 456, 481, &c.

3. The Translator.

Although it is dangerous to venture into suppositions, it may be safely surmised that the initials, 'E. H.', belonged to the man who in 1567, edited a satirical poem, *Newes out of Pavles Churcheyarde, A Trappe for Syr Monye* ¹⁾, signed E. H.; as well as a translation of *The Imitation or Following of Christ, and the Contemning of Wordly Vanities... Englished by E. H.*: 1567 ²⁾. Again in 1574 the same letters appeared on *A Touchestone for this time present, expressly declaring such ruines, enormities, and abuses as trouble the Churche of God and our Christian common wealth at this daye. &a. Newly seth foorth by E. H.* ³⁾. Here, at the end of the dedicatory epistle to his friend, 'Edward Godfrey, Merchaunt' of London, the author, wrote his name in full, *Edvard Hake*. He, without doubt, is identical with the translator of *Diversoria*, as is corroborated by his great admiration of Erasmus, which made him add to his *Touchestone* a treatise in verse: *A compendious fourme of education to be diligently obserued of all parentes and scholemasters in the training vp of their children and schollers in*

¹⁾ Licensed to Henry Denham: cp. Arber, I, 353: no copy of this edition is known to be extant. The third issue, 1579 (Arber, II, 359), dedicated to the Earl of Leicester, and still signed E. H., has been reproduced in facsimile in the *Isham Reprints*, with a preface by Ch. Edmonds, 1872.

²⁾ This translation, dedicated to Thomas Duke of Norfolk, was printed by Henry Denham: Arber, I, 342; AmHerb, II, 944. It was re-issued in 1568 with *A short and pretie Treatise touching the perpetuall Reioyce of the godly, euen in this lyfe* (Arber, I, 379). The author signed the dedicatory letter in full — Edwarde Hake.

³⁾ The *Touchstone* was printed by Thomas Hacket in London: AmHerb, II, 896, 1216 (edition of 1588); Warton, IV, 97.

learning. *Gathered into Englishe meeter by Edward Hake* : it tells to English parents the substance of what is written in the great Humanist's *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, and strongly recommends about girls' and ladies' education and instruction such views as the author of the *Colloquia* advocated for instance in his *Abbas et Erudita*.

This Edward Hake ¹⁾ had been a disciple of the schoolmaster and scholar John Hopkins ²⁾; he had been apprenticed at Gray's, and at Barnard's Inn ³⁾, and was in 1574 an attorney, in the Common Pleas ⁴⁾. In after life he became recorder, then understeward, bailiff, and in 1586, mayor, of New Windsor; from October 1588 to September 1589, he represented that town in Parliament ⁵⁾. Invested with these offices he sometimes came into close connection with Elizabeth and James I., and the fact that he dedicated his works to leading personages, such as the Earl of Leicester, the Duke of Norfolk, the Countess of Warwick and his 'verie louing Cowsen, Edwarde Eliotte', Surveyor of the Queen's possessions in Essex, seems to imply that he was rather conspicuous amongst his contemporaries.

¹⁾ Cp. his biographies : by A. H. Bullen in *DNB* ; by Charles Edmonds in the Isham reprint of *Newes out of Powles Church-yard* : London, 1872; also by J. Ritson, *Bibliographia Poetica* : London, 1802 : 231. — If *Dauids Sling against great Goliath*, by 'E. H.' (London, 1593), is his work, it follows that he was 'a Cheshire wit', and wrote those 'firstlings' at the request of a relative, William Baker, who afterwards published them with a preface (*a₃ r*).

²⁾ Warton, III, 451.

³⁾ From there he dated the dedicatory letter, 17 November 1575, of *A Commemoration of... the Raigne of Elizabeth*.

⁴⁾ Warton, IV, 97, 253.

⁵⁾ R. R. Tighe & J. E. Davis, *Annals of Windsor* : London, 1858 : I, 643, 650, 655.

That prominent position was probably due in some extent to his outspoken principles about religion, morals and politics. He criticized severely the abuses of his time, especially the perverse ways in which money was got and spent; and he was not at all tender towards the clergy ¹). Apparently his satirical spirit and sound common sense had been trained by a thorough study of the *Colloquia*, which pleased him to such an extent that at one time he contemplated translating the whole series ²). Probably lack of leisure prevented him from executing this purpose; for besides his administrative and political labour at Windsor and in Parliament, he accomplished a considerable amount of work. The list of the books and pamphlets he published, either under his initials or with his name in full, is rather long ³), and caused him to be already celebrated in the literature of his time ⁴). Some of

¹) *CHEL*, IV, 329.

²) Maybe the book entitled : *A mooste delectable conference betwene the wedded lyf and the syngle*, by Henry Hake, licensed to the printer of the *Diuersoria*, William Griffyth, in 1566, was Edward's work. The clerk of the Stationers' Company did sometimes make mistakes in names. In all probability, the book is lost; still the title sounds familiar to all those who have read Erasmus' *Virgo Misogamos*, *Virgo Pœnitens*, or other *Colloquia* : cp. *AmHerb*, II, 924; *Arber*, I, 330.

³) Cp. *DNB*; *HazHb.*, 250-251. In his *Of Golds Kingdome*, 1604 (f^o A₃ v), Hake mentions his *Treatise of the Common Lawes of England*, written a few years before, of which he offered a manuscript copy to James I. : this work, if ever it was printed, seems to have been lost sight of, and is not referred to by his biographers.

⁴) John Long and Rich. Matthew wrote poems about Hake's works as a preface to the 1579 reprint of *Newes out of Powles Churchyard*; cp. *Arber*, II, 359. Richard Robinson praised him in *The Rewarde of Wickednesse* : London, 1576 : Q₃ r; and already in 1568, George Turberville alluded to his *Slights of Wanton Mayds*, in *A Plaine Path to perfect Vertue* : London, 1568 : * v. r.

these serve political purposes, and praise the Queen and the King ¹⁾; but the greater number of them are devoted to what seems to have been the lifework of the keen puritan : the accusing of the corrupt practices of those days ²⁾, and the teaching of the way to righteousness, either by tracts ³⁾, or by the example of the due study of the Bible ⁴⁾, to which task he certainly was encouraged, if not roused as well, by the enthusiastic reading of the various works of the author of *Diversoria* ⁵⁾.

¹⁾ A Commemoration of the most prosperous and peaceable Raigne of... Lady Elizabeth... by Edw. Hake, Gent, 1575. — A Joyful Continuance of the Commemoration of the... Reigne of... Lady Elizabeth... by Edw. Hake, Gent., 1578. — An Oration, with an Expostulation... with the Queenes... Subjects &c., pronounced vpon the Queens... Birthday, in the Guildhall of... New Windsore, by Edw. Hake, [Aug. 10 or Sept. 7], 1586. — A Speech... vnto the Kings Maiesty, in Of Golds Kingdome, 1604. Cp. AmHerb, II, 1038, 1168; S. R. Maitland, *An Index of... English Books, printed before MDC.*, ... in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth : London, 1845 : 52; *The Harleian Miscellany*, vol. IX : London, 1812 : 123-139; Arber, II, 477; III, 250.

²⁾ A Mery meeting of Maydes in London or The Slightes of Wanton Mayds, 1567. — Newes out of Pavles Churcheyarde, a Trappe for Syr Monye... by E. H., 1567. — A Touchestone for this Time Present... by E. H., 1574. — The Touchestone of Wittes, 1588. — Of Golds Kingdome and this Vnhelpling Age (with a speech to the King), 1604. Cp. AmHerb, II, 896, 1216; Arber, I, 355, 356; II, 630, 652; III, 250; B. Quaritch, *A Brief Handlist of the... Huth Library* : London, 1911 : 39; DNB.

³⁾ The Imitation or Following of Christ, and the Contemning of Wordly Vanities, by E. H., 1567. — The perpetuall Reioyce of the godly, euen in this lyfe, by E. H., 1568. — Dauids Sling against great Goliah, and other tracts, by E. H., (1580,) 1593. Cp. AmHerb, II, 944, 951; Arber, I, 342, 379; II, 385.

⁴⁾ A Maruaile deciphered, being an exposition on the 12. Chapter of the Reuelation, by E. H., 1589. Cp. AmHerb, III, 1352 (not mentioned in DNB).

⁵⁾ The translation of this dialogue, probably his first achievement, is not in the list of Hake's works in the DNB, where

4. The Edition.

The translation of *Diversoria* was printed in 1566 by William Griffyth, at the signe of the Faucon' in Fleet Street, London, and was, to be solde at his shop in S. Dunstons Churchyard in the West' ¹⁾. His device appears on the title-page : a griffin with outstretched wings, holding a spray of sweet-william in its beak, and keeping up with its claw a scutcheon bearing the printer's monogram, which is repeated on a larger scale on the last page of this little book ²⁾.

It forms a small quarto volume ³⁾, which contains at least three quires. The first, [A], had two leaves, of which the first was probably blank and has disappeared in the only copy known to be extant, and of which the second is not marked ; it has the title on the obverse, [A₂] r, and the preface on the reverse side, [A₂] v. Signature **Ⓐ** has four leaves of which the three first are marked B, Bii, Bii (evidently a misprint for Biii). Signature **Ⓒ** extends over four leaves as well, three being marked : C, Cii, Ciii ⁴⁾.

After the fourth leaf of this quire comes another leaf, of which the obverse side bears the last lines of the Colloquy and Griffyth's monogram. As the copy is bound, it can hardly be made out in what way this leaf is connected with the book. It may be the first of

it is recorded that the Lansdowne MS. 161 contains three un-edited articles by this author.

¹⁾ Cp. AmHerb, II, 922 ; Duff, *Cent.*, 61.

²⁾ This device is reproduced by R. B. McKerrow in *Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640* : London, 1913 : n° 144 β.

³⁾ The height of the printed space varies between 146 and 157 mm., by 88 mm. width, for the ordinary text.

⁴⁾ Cii and Ciii are conjugate leaves ; their fold is the middle of the quire.

two conjugate leaves ranking as [D], of which the second was blank and has disappeared. Maybe it is an additional leaf stuck to quire C (of which it should be the fifth, [C₅]), as is the case with f° [+₇] in the preliminary quire of *Y^e Pylgremage of Pure Deuotion*¹⁾. At any rate, whether it was [C₅] or [D₁], there must have been either one or two leaves completely blank on a total of twelve, and two separate sheets with only three pages of print, which was ruinous for any one who brought out the book on business principles. So the supposition may be risked that the two unnumbered leaves with which the volume begins and ends — namely [A₂], and [D₁] or [C₅] — were in fact only one sheet of two conjugate leaves, of which the first, [A₁], is taken up by the title and the preface, and the second, [A₂], by the last lines of the *Dialogue*; and inside of which the two quires B and C were placed before being stitched or stabbed²⁾.

¹⁾ Cp. p. lvi.

²⁾ Occasionally the final blank leaf of a thin pamphlet was folded back over the front to form a cover: McKerrow, 123. It is unlikely that the title page and the end of the Colloquy were on two separate gatherings, for that implies a waste of good material, and the printing off of [A₂] and of [D₁] by themselves, would have cost as much time and labour as that of the regular gatherings B and C. Such waste blanks were mostly avoided by the addition of some odd matter — as happened for the *Mery Dialogue*: p. xxxiv; and for Edward Hake's edition of *Newes out of Powles Churchyarde*, of 1579, in which a 'letter written by the Author to his friende lying at the point of death' was inserted 'for the fillinge vp of emptie pages': f° H₂ v; McKerrow, 194. It is therefore most likely that Griffyth saved both the paper, and the machining by the conjugate leaves [A₁]-[A₂], beginning and ending the book, and serving as cover. A comparison of the chain- and wirelines of the paper, shows — as far as the bound-up booklet allows — that these two leaves [A₁] and [A₂] correspond with each

Consequently the composition of the book is one of these three formulae (*bl*, *l* = *blank*, *lost*) :

1° [A₁] (*bl*, *l*)-[A₂]; Bi-[B₄]; Ci-[C₄]; [D₁]-[D₂] (*bl*, *l*).

2° [A₁] (*bl*, *l*)-[A₂]; Bi-[B₄]; Ci-[C₄]; [C₅], *added*.

3° [A₁]; Bi-[B₄]; Ci-[C₄]; [A₂].

The text of the preface, and that of the Colloquy, extending from Bi r to [A₂] (or [C₅] or [D₁]) r, is printed in a rather large black-letter type, with two ornamented initials ; the names of the speakers are in a smaller black letter, and the running titles in still smaller Italics. Pagination is wanting. The material getting up of the book is not unobjectionable : the length of the text on each page varies ¹⁾ ; the lines are generally crooked or undulating ; many letters and marks of punctuation are above or under the line. Some types or words, when inked or printed off, were standing a little out of the general surface : they are blacker, and either look bigger than the neighbouring letters ²⁾, or are blurred and smudged. All this seems to indicate that Griffyth had to work with a deficient stock, which is implied as well by the irregular use of the mark ¶ before the words of the speakers ; by the smaller types which occasionally occur in the bigger black-

other as exactly as any of the other conjugate leaves : Bi and [B₄], Bii and [B₃], Ci and [C₄], Cii and Ciii.

¹⁾ Most pages have 31 lines of text, two 32, others 30, 29, 28 or 27 ; hence the difference in the printed spaces already referred to (p. lxxvi). The book itself measures 180 by 128 mm.

²⁾ Possibly some of these letters are of a slightly bigger type than the rest ; the difference, however, is very small ; no notice has been taken of it in this reprint.

letter text, and by the fact that the capital Y is regularly replaced by the lower-case type.

The only copy of the *Diversoria* that is known to be extant, belongs to the John Rylands Library, Manchester ¹⁾, having as press mark 17324. A. 9. E. Binding and fly-leaves are modern. On the inside of the front cover is the bookplate of that Library with the date 1894, as well as a label with the inscription : ' E Bibliotheca Spenceriana '.

¹⁾ I am happy to express my heartiest thanks to Dr H. Guppy, the eminent Librarian and creator of that world-famed collection, for his kind permission to copy and reproduce the precious little volume : he generously provided the photographs of the title and of the last page, from which the blocks were made.

INFLUENCE OF THESE EARLIEST
TRANSLATIONS ON LATER RENDERINGS OF
ERASMUS' 'COLLOQUIA'

1. The Translators and their Renderings.

In 1606 William Burton, the vicar of St. Giles's, Reading ¹⁾, published in London *Seven Dialogues both pithie and profitable*, translated from Erasmus. For the third, entitled: *A very excellent Dialogue betweene a good Woman and a Shrew, shewing how a Woman may win her Husbands loue, though he be neuer so froward* (= *Uxor Μερψίγγμος* ²⁾), he made use of the *Mery Dialogue*, from which he borrowed several sentences quite literally. As he aimed at more refinedness in style and tone, he omitted, however, most of the racy sayings and expressions, and thus lost much of the charm of the older translation. For the sixth, *A pleasant Dialogue of a Popish Pilgrimage: notably setting forth the glorious felicitie and admirable vtilitie of the Catholike Religion* ³⁾ (= *Peregrinatio Religionis Ergo*), he availed himself of the *Pylgremage of Pure Deuoty*; he derived from it several expressions and words, which evidently were not suggested by the Latin; he corrected and polished its rough style, and made the sneers at some practices of the Roman Church sharper and bitterer, especially by his marginal notes.

¹⁾ *DNB*; Wood, I, 286; *BB*, E, 823, 824, 825.

²⁾ Burton, H₂ r.

³⁾ Burton, O₁ v. Cp. the comparative passages quoted p. lxxvii.

A different spirit animates a translation of the complete set of the *Colloquia*, which was published in London, in 1671, by H. Brome, B. Tooke and T. Sawbridge, namely *The Colloquies, or Familiar Discourses Of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, Rendered into English. A Work of very great Use to such as desire to attain an exact knowledge of the Latin Tongue* ¹⁾. The latter part of this title illustrates the mind and the intention of the author, who only signed by his initials 'H. M. Gent' ²⁾. He was evidently a scholar, and his rendering is remarkably accurate. He aimed, to be true, at reproducing the original as exactly as possible; still, he made use of the XVIth century translations; though correcting their texts wherever he found them faulty, he often adopted the same words and expressions as had been employed before him by Becke, by Hake, in the *Pylgremage* and in the *Mery Dialogue* ³⁾.

In 1680 Sir Roger L'Estrange published in London a translation of *Twenty Select Colloquies, out of Erasmus Roterodamus; Pleasantly representing Several Superstitious Levities That were crept into the Church of Rome In His Days*, which were to serve as documents in a controversy in which he was engaged ⁴⁾. The list comprises *The Religious Pilgrimage*, and the *Cyclops, or the Gospel-Carrier*.

¹⁾ BB, E, 797.

²⁾ Possibly Henry More (1614-1687), who wrote several theological and philosophical works, some of which anonymously; — or Henry Munday (1623-1682), the headmaster of Henley-on-Thames grammar-school: DNB.

³⁾ Cp. the *Comparative Texts* quoted further: p. lxxvii.

⁴⁾ DNB; BB, E, 802-808; Ch. Wibley's introduction to a reprint of these *Twenty Select Colloquies* (Abbey Classics): London, 1923.

The first was made with the help of the *Pylgremage*, from which were reproduced sentences which differ from the original. L'Estrange was also under the influence of Becke's first *Dyaloge*; to be true, he does not imitate his prolixity, and tries rather to represent the concise original: yet he cannot have arrived fortuitously at some terms and wordings, which are also found in the *Polyphemus*, although not necessarily suggested by Erasmus' text. He evidently knew H. M.'s *Colloquies*: still he seems to have preferred working on the older models, which his rendering generally follows more closely. That is also the case for *The Inns* representing the *Diversoria*, which offers unmistakable similitudes with Hake's version. A comparison of the various texts shows that L'Estrange owes to these early translations much of that natural freedom which quite 'Englishes' his renderings, imparting to them the freshness which makes them appear as original compositions.

The translation by Thomas Brown of a selection from the *Colloquia*, entitled: *Seven New Colloquies Translated out of Erasmus Roterodamus, As also the Life of Erasmus*, printed in London, 1699¹⁾, contains a rendering of *De Rebus ac Vocabulis: The Plain Dealer, or, All is not Gold that Glisters* (p. 10), and one of *Uxor Μεμψίγαμος: Xantippe, or, The Imperious Wife* (p. 59), in what seemed, in those days, an ultra-modern and even vulgar language. Neither of them shows any sign of acquaintance with the xvith century versions.

In 1720 the famous Hull schoolmaster John Clarke (1687-1734) edited, as a help for the study of Latin, a

¹⁾ DNB; BB, E, 826.

selection of ten Colloquies, adding translations to the original texts : *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta : or the Select Colloquies of Erasmus. With an English Translation, As literal as possible, design'd for the Use of Beginners in the Latin Tongue* : Nottingham 1720 ¹). This manual was very popular, and went through numerous editions. The second of these Colloquies, the *Diversoria*, for which H. M.'s rendering may have been used, shows unmistakably Hake's influence : from a comparison of the three texts it appears, that, although strictly true to the original, Clarke chose in many instances words and turns which he could only have found in the translation of 1566 ²).

Five years later, his Stepney colleague, Nathan Bailey, produced a translation of the whole series of the *Colloquia* under the title : *All the Familiar Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam, Concerning Men, Manners, and Things* (London, 1725) ³). He intended, keeping as close to the Original as [he] could, without Latinizing and deviating from the English Idiom ; and he advocates his work as necessary, since L'Estrange's and Th. Brown's translations are, rather Paraphrases ; also since H. M.'s, Version is grown very scarce , and its, Stile is not only antient, but too flat, for so pleasant and facetious an Author as Erasmus is ' ⁴). This translation, which

¹) Cp. p. lviii; *DNB*; *BB*, E, 809 to 820 : in 1804 was published the 20th edition of this little book.

²) Cp. further pp. lxxv-lxxvi, notes; lxxxii.

³) *DNB*; *PD*, 183, n; *BB*, E, 798-801; a selection of ten Colloquies with Bailey's rendering in imitation of Clarke's manual was published in London, in 1733 : *BB*, E, 822.

⁴) *The Preface* : Bailey, A₂ v.

was reprinted in 1733, in 1877, 1878 and 1900, has been praised for the reproducing , of the idiomatic and proverbial Latinisms, and generally of the classical phrases and allusions in which Erasmus abounds, in corresponding or analogous English forms'; as well as for the author's , great command of homely and colloquial English ', through which his rendering has , perhaps in many instances not less piquancy than the original ', and , as a piece of racy English, has a certain independent value of its own ' ¹⁾. From a comparison of his texts with those of the XVIth century translations, it results that, at least for five of these Colloquies, much of the merit ascribed to Bailey is due to Becke, to Hake, and to the two anonymous authors. It is a certainty that he profited by their work : and that not only indirectly, through H. M.'s and L'Estrange's versions, by which they had already been utilized ²⁾); for he has several passages which are quite identical with those of the earliest translations, although they are represented more accurately in the later renderings. Thus for the *Peregrinatio* he reproduced some of the faulty translations of the *Pylgremage*. As an example may serve Ogygius' remark : *Addebatur & illud pii cujusdam candoris argumentum* ; Bailey renders it : , there was one Argument added, by a Man of great Piety and Candour ' ; the corresponding passage in the *Pylgremage* is : , there was some good holy man whiche dyd gyue this argu-

¹⁾ Prefatory Note to the 1900 edition of Bailey's translation : *The Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus Concerning Men Manners and Things*, by E. Johnson : London, 1900 : I, *vij*.

²⁾ Bailey's *Preface* does not mention either Burton's or Clarke's translations, although it refers to those by L'Estrange, Brown and H. M.

mente of holynes'; whereas H. M. translated : 'There was moreover added this proof of a pious kind of uprightness' ¹⁾).

Many similar passages ²⁾ from this and other *Colloquies* prove apodictically that Bailey, passing by the much preciser translations of H. M. and of L'Estrange, kept to the less perfect xvith century versions. And even there where the Latin original is equally well represented, the choice of some peculiar turn, or of a particular word often indicates also that indebtedness. Hake's *Diuersoria*, for instance, supplied many a term and many a sentence. Erasmus' concise remark : *Querunt compendium*, is translated by Bailey : 'They are for taking the shortest Way', evidently because Hake had previously rendered it : 'These men seeke the neerest way to woorke, J see wel' ³⁾. The representing of : *Isthuc vere cœnobium est*, as 'This is having all Things in common', is without doubt suggested by Hake's : 'Marye this is a communitye of

¹⁾ EOO, I, 780, B; Bailey, 348; PD, 1150-1152; H. M., 315.

²⁾ Another instance is PD, 777 : 'if he had holden hys pease, we had sene all the relyques'; Bailey, 343 : 'if he had held his tongue, the Verger would have shewn us all the Relicks'; H. M., 310 : 'if he had held his peace, the Sexton had concealed nothing of the rest from us'; Erasmus (EOO, I, 777, E) : *si is siluisset, ædituus nos nihil celasset reliquorum*. Similarly PD, 927 : 'he held out a table suche as the Germanes vse to gather tolle apon bridges' (cp. *Notes*); Bailey, 345 : 'holding out such a kind of Table, as they in Germany that take Toll on the Bridges hold out to you'; H. M., 312 : 'reaching out a little board, such an one as they hold out to one among the Germans, who take toll on the bridges'; Erasmus : *tabellam porrigens, qualem apud Germanos afferunt, qui in pontibus telos exigunt* (EOO, I, 778, E).

³⁾ EOO, I, 716, E; Bailey, 192; D, 204; H. M. translated this passage by : 'They seek to make short work' (H. M., 182), and Clarke, by : 'They seek the shortest Way' (Clarke, 30), which shows Hake's influence.

lyfe in deede ' ¹⁾. Such similitudes are numerous between this and the other old versions, on one hand, and those by Bailey, on the other ²⁾; they leave no doubt as to the influence which the popular books exercised upon his, and on nearly all the preceding translations, and through them, on all those who in England felt some interest in literature and erudition ³⁾, in humanism and in Erasmus, whose rich quarry of wisdom and learning was thus laid bare, and within everybody's grasp.

¹⁾ EOO, I, 716, f; Bailey, 192; D, 213; H. M. has here : 'There is a covent indeed' (H. M., 182), and Clarke : 'That is really living in common' (Clarke, 30) : these and several other renderings by Clarke and Bailey are evidently inspired by those of Hake, although they generally adhere more closely to the Latin text.

²⁾ Another instance is the passage D, 328-332, 'within a while [he] bringes in bread which euery manne (at leysure) chippeth and pareth for him selfe, whiles the potage is a sethinge. They sit mopinge after thys manner, otherwhiles a whole houre together' — rendering Erasmus' (EOO, I, 717, v) : *aliquanto post, [apponit] panem : eum sibi quisque per otium repurgat, dum coquuntur pultes. Ita nonnunquam sedetur ferme horæ spacio*; Bailey : 'a little after he brings Bread, which the Guests may chip every one for themselves at leisure, while the Porridge is boiling. For sometimes they sit thus for near an Hour' (Bailey, 193); H. M. renders this passage as follows : 'a pretty while after that, bread; every one chippeth that for himself at leisure, while the pottage are a boyling. Thus they sit sometimes almost an hours space' (H. M., 183). Clarke has here : 'a little after Bread. That every Man cleans for himself at his Leisure, whilst the Pulse is a boyling. So they sit sometimes almost the space of an Hour (Clarke, 34).

³⁾ That influence may be traced even in the translation of a series of choice expressions from Erasmus' *Colloquia* edited by Jo. Clerk, *Lincolniensis*, under the title : *Phraseologia Puerilis Anglo-Latina. In usum tirocinii Scholastici* (second Edition... Recognized by W. Du-gard) : London, 1650. Several expressive renderings given there are identical with — and probably due to — those of the xvth century translators, as can be gathered from some instances quoted further (p. lxxxiv) and in the Notes.

2. Comparative Texts.

The influence of the XVIth century translations on those of later times may be conveniently illustrated by a comparison of passages taken at random in each *Colloquium*, with their renderings in the various versions.

I^a

CYCLOPS, and the translations by (2) Becke,
(3) H. M., Gent., (4) L'Estrange, and (5) Bailey.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. Po. Vide | ne quam im- |
| 2. Po. <i>Take hede in goddes name what ye say lest ye bolt out</i> | |
| 3. Po. Look to it, | lest thou unad- |
| 4. Po. | You'll speak |
| 5. Po. See what it is, | that you do not |
| 1. prudens effutias blasphemiam. | CA. Quid igitur ? |
| 2. <i>a blasphemie before ye be ware.</i> | CA. <i>why bydde ye</i> |
| 3. visedly blab out any blasphemy. | CA. What then, |
| 4. Blasphemy before you're aware. | CA. Why so ? |
| 5. speak Blasphemy before you are aware. | CA. Why then, |
| 1. | estne sacri quippiam ? |
| 2. <i>me take hede what J saye? is there any holy matter in the</i> | |
| 3. | is it any sacred thing ? |
| 4. | Is there any thing in't that's |
| 5. | is there any thing in it that is |
| 1. Po. Est, | quo nihil sacratius, Euan- |
| 2. <i>boke ?</i> Po. <i>what man it is the gospell boke, J trow there is</i> | |
| 3. Po. It is | the Gospel, than which nothing |
| 4. Sacred ? Po. If | the Holy Gospel be not sacred, I |
| 5. sacred ? Po. What | can be more sacred than the |
| 1. gelium. | CA. Ἡράκλεις ! |
| 2. <i>nothyng can be more holye.</i> | CA. <i>God for thy grace</i> |
| 3. is more sacred. | CA. O wonderful ! |
| 4. pray'e what is ? | CA. The Lord deliver vs ; |
| 5. Gospel ? | CA. Good God ! |

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Quid Polyphemo cum Euangelio. | Po. Quin |
| 2. <i>what hathe Poliphemus to do with the gospell?</i> | Po. Nay |
| 3. what hath Polyphemus to do with the Gospel? | Po. Thou |
| 4. what has Polyphemus to do with the Gospel? | Po. And |
| 5. What does Polyphemus do with the Gospel? | Po. Why |
-
- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. ita rogas, quid Christiano | cum Christo? |
| 2. <i>why do ye not aske what a chrysten man hathe to do with</i> | |
| 3. mayest as well ask what hath a Christian to do with Christ? | |
| 4. pray'e let me ask you, what a Christian has to do with | |
| 5. don't you ask, what a Christian | has to do with |
-
- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. | (1. — EOO, I, 831 D.) |
| 2. <i>christe?</i> | (2. — TD, 132-142.) |
| 3. | (3. — H. M., 422-3.) |
| 4. Christ? | (4. — L'Estr., 229.) |
| 5. Christ. | (5. — Bailey, 458.) |

I^B

DE REBUS AC VOCABULIS, and the translations by
(2) Becke, (3) H. M., Gent., and (4) Bailey.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1. BE. At si homo est animal rationale ; quantum abest | |
| 2. BE. <i>Yf man be a resonable creature,</i> | <i>howe ferre dyffers</i> |
| 3. BE. But if a man be a reasonable creature, how far is this | |
| 4. BE. But if Man is a rational Animal, | how contrary is it |
-
- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. hoc a ratione, | ut in corporis commodis ve- |
| 2. <i>this from all good reason that in commodities apertayning to</i> | |
| 3. from reason, | that in the profits rather than |
| 4. to Reason, | that in the Conveniencies, rather |
-
- | | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. rius quam bonis, | & in externis, |
| 2. <i>the body (for so they deserue</i> | |
| <i>[rather to be called then goodnes) and in outwarde gyftes</i> | |
| 3. goods of the body, | and in outward things, |
| 4. than the real Goods of the Body, | and in external things, |
-
- | | |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. quæ fortuna dat simul & eripit cum libet, | |
| 2. <i>whiche dame fortune geues and takes awaye at her pleasure,</i> | |
| 3. which fortune giveth, and taketh away | when she listeth, |
| 4. which Fortune gives and takes away | at her pleasure ; |

1. rem malimus, quam nomen : in veris
2. *we had rather haue the thyng then the name, and in the*
3. *we rather chuse the thing than the name; in the*
4. *we had rather have the Thing it self than the Name; and in*
1. animi bonis, nomen pluris faciamus,
2. *true and only goodnes of the mynd we passe more vpon*
3. *true goods of the mind, we make more account*
4. *the real Goods of the mind, we put more value vpon*
1. quam rem ? (1. — EOO, I, 820, F.)
2. *the name then the thyng.* (2. — TD, 780-790.)
3. *of the name than of the thing?* (3. — H. M., 400.)
4. *the Name, than the Thing it self.* (4. — Bailey, 433.)

II

UXOR MEMΨIFAMΟΣ, the translation of (2) 1555,
 & those by (3) Burton, (4) H. M., Gent., and (5) Bailey.

1. XA. Quid ? nonnunquam dormit, somnium ho-
2. XA. *What doth he sometyme he cowcheth an hogeshed,*
3. XA. What ? sometimes he sleepeth,
4. XA. What ? sometime he sleeps, being but an appear-
5. XA. What ! Why sometimes he pretends himself to be
1. minis ; interdum nihil aliud quam ridet ;
2. *somtime he doth nothing but stande and*
3. *sometimes he doth nothing but laugh,*
4. *ance of a man, sometime he doth nothing else but laugh,*
5. *fast asleep, and sometimes does nothing in the World*
1. aliquoties arripit testudinem, in qua
2. *laughe at me, other whyle takethe hys Lute wheron is*
3. *& somtimes he taketh his Lute, & sits*
4. *otherwhiles he snatches up a Lute which*
5. *but laugh at me ; sometimes he catches up his Fiddle that*
1. vix tres habet fides ; eam quantum potest pulsans,
2. *scarslie three strynges, layenge on that as fast as he may*
3. *thrumming on that as loud as he can, when it hath scarce 3.*
[strings vpon it, and al to interrupt my speeches, or
4. *hath hardly three strings, playing vpon it as hard as he can,*
5. *has but three Strings, scraping vpon it with all his Might,*

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1. mihi vociferanti obstrepit. | Eu. Ea res male |
| 2. dryue because he would not here me. | Eu. Doeth that greue |
| 3. drowne my voice. | Eu. And doth not that |
| 4. he hindreth me scolding at him. | Eu. Doth that thing |
| 5. and drowns the Noise of my Bawling. | Eu. And does not that |

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. urit te ? | XA. Sic ut dici vix possit. |
| 2. thee ? | XA. To beyonde home, manie a |
| 3. anger you ? | XA. Anger me (quothe you?) J cannot |
| 4. fret thee sorely ? | XA. So much as can hardly be |
| 5. vex you to the Heart ? | XA. Ay, so that it is impossible to |

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. | Aliquando vix tem- |
| 2. tyme | J haue much a do to hold |
| 3. expresse how much he vexeth me, I am so chafed with it, | |
| [that it goeth even to the heart of me, sometime I haue | |
| 4. exprest. | Sometimes I can hardly |
| 5. be express'd, | so that sometimes I can |

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. pero a manibus. | (1. — EOO, I, 703, A.) |
| 2. my handes. | (2. — MD, 117-126.) |
| 3. much ado to hold my hands. | (3. — Burton, [H ₄] v.) |
| 4. hold my hands off him. | (4. — H. M., 152.) |
| 5. scarce keep my Hands off of him. | (5. — Bailey, 160.) |

III

PEREGRINATIO RELIGIONIS ERGO, (2) the translation of 1536/7, and those by (3) Burton, (4) H. M., Gent., (5) L'Estrange, and (6) Bailey.

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 1. ME. ... Quo igitur spectat filius ? | OG. Bene |
| 2. ME. ... Whiche way dothe her sonne loke than ? | OG. It is |
| 3. ME. ... Which way then looketh her Sonne ? | OG. Well |
| 4. ME. ... which way looks her son then ? | OG. Thou |
| 5. ME. ... which way looks her Son then ? | OG. That's |
| 6. ME. ... which way then does her Son look ? | OG. That's |

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. mones. | Cum occidentem spectat, dex- |
| 2. well remembryd. | Whan he lokythe to te West, his |
| 3. remembred, | when he looketh toward the West, |
| 4. putttest me well in mind. | When he looks towards the west, |
| 5. well thought of. | When he looks toward the West, |
| 6. well taken notice of. | When he looks toward the West |

1. tram habet matrem : ubi se vertit ad Solis
2. *mother is apon his right hand,* *but whan he turnythe*
3. then she hath the right hand ; but when he turnes
4. he hath his Mother on his right hand, when he turneth him-
5. he has his Mother on his Right hand ; and when to the East
6. he has his Mother on the right, and when he looks to-

1. exortum, sinistra est...
2. *hym to the Este she is apon the lefte hand...*
3. himselfe to the East, then she hath the left hand :...
4. self to the sun-rising, she is on the left hand...
5. on his Left ;...
6. ward the East, she is on his left Hand...

1. ME. Durum ubi igitur habet illa ?
2. ME. *what doo yow tell me wher dothe she dwell than ?*
3. ME. That is very hard : where then doth she keepe ?
4. ME. That is hard, where dwells she then ?
5. ME. This is somewhat hard methinks ; but where does she
6. ME. That's a hard Case, where does she dwell then ?

1. Og. In eo templo, quod inabsolutum
2. Og. *In y^t same churche whiche I told you was*
3. Og. In that Church that is not yet finished,
4. Og. In that Church which I said is unfurnished,
5. dwell then ? Og. In that unfinisht Church I told you of,
6. Og. In that unfinish'd Church, that I spoke of,

1. dixi, est sacellum angustum, ligneo tabulatu
2. *nat all fynyshyd, ther is a lytle chapell seelyd ouer with*
3. there is a very narrow Chappel, floored
4. it is a sumptuous Chappel, built with
5. there's a small boarded Chappel,
6. there is a little boarded Chappel,

1. constructum, ad utrumque latus, per angustum
2. *wodde,* *on ether syde a lytle dore*
3. with bordes very straight on both sides, and a very little doore
4. wooden boards, letting the Visiter in on
5. with a little Door on each
6. with a little Door on each

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. ostiolum admittens salutatores. | (1. — EOO, I, 776, E.) |
| 2. <i>wher y^e pylgrymes go thorow...</i> | (2. — PD, 621-639.) |
| 3. to let in pilgrimes. | (3. — Burton, P ₁ v.) |
| 4. both sides by a narrow little door. | (4. — H. M., 308.) |
| 5. side to receive Visitors. | (5. — L'Estr., 18-19.) |
| 6. side to receive Visitors. | (6. — Bailey, 341.) |

IV

DIVERSORIA, and the translations by (2) Hake,
(3) H. M., Gent., (4) L'Estrange, (5) Clarke, & (6) Bailey.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. BE. Is circumactis oculis | tacitus dinumerat, |
| 2. BE. <i>He casting his eyes about,</i> | <i>reackeneth onto him-</i> |
| 3. BE. When he hath lookt round about, | he counts to himself, |
| 4. BE. He over-looks the place ; | and counts to himself |
| 5. BE. He having cast about his Eyes, | reckons silently how |
| 6. BE. He having cast his Eyes about, | counts to himself, how |

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. quot sint in hypocausto, | quo plures |
| 2. <i>selfe howe manye therebe in the stoue at all, the moe he seeth</i> | |
| 3. how many there are in the stove, | the more he sees |
| 4. the number of the Guests ; | and the more |
| 5. many there are in the Stove, by how much | the more he sees |
| 6. many there are in the Stove ; | the more he sees |

- | |
|--|
| 1. adesse videt, hoc vehementius accenditur hypocaust- |
| 2. <i>there, the greater he maketh his fire, though the sonne beside</i> |
| 3. there, so much more hot is the stove heated, although other- |
| 4. Company, the more fire he puts in the Stove, though they |
| 5. present, by so much the more violently the Stove is heated, |
| 6. there, the more Fire he makes in the Stove, although it be |

- | |
|---|
| 1. tum, etiamsi alioqui sol æstu sit molestus. |
| 2. <i>doth greatly annoy with his perching heat.</i> |
| 3. wise the Sun troubles one with it's heat. |
| 4. were half smother'd before : |
| 5. altho' otherwise the Sun be troublesome by his Heat. |
| 6. at a Time, when the very Heat of the Sun would be trouble- |

1. Hæc apud illos præcipua pars est bonæ tractationis,
2. *Among them, this is accounted the principallest pointe of*
3. This is the chief part of good entertainment among them, if
4. For 'tis a token of respect
5. This is the greatest Part of good Treatment,
6. some; and this with them, is accounted a principal Part of

1. si sudore diffluent omnes.
2. *good entertainment, if they all sweat like Bulles, that they*
3. all their guests run down with sweat.
4. to stew the people into a sweat.
5. if all run down with Sweat.
6. good Entertainment, to make them all sweat till they drop

1. Si quis non assuetus vaporì,
2. *doe euen drop again. But if one not used to this choking and*
3. If any one unaccustomed to the steam,
4. If any man that's ready to choak with the
5. If any one not accustomed to the Heat,
6. again. If any one who is not used to the Steam,

1. aperiat rimam fenestræ, ne
2. *smotheringe ayre, should chaunce to open but a chinke of the*
3. openeth a crevise of the window
4. Fume, does but open the Window never so
5. open a Chink of a Window,
6. shall presume to open the Window

1. præfocetur, protinus
2. *window to keepe himself from stifeling, he should by and by*
3. lest he should be choakt; some presently
4. little, mine Host bids
5. lest he be stifled, immediately
6. never so little, that he be not stifled, presently they

1. audit : Claude. (1. — EOO, I, 717, A.)
2. *haue this saied vnto him, Shut it...* (2. — D, 245-256.)
3. say to him, shut it... (3. — H. M., 182.)
4. him shut it again. (4. — L'Estr., 61.)
5. he hears shut it. (5. — Clarke, 31.)
6. cry out to shut it again. (6. — Bailey, 192.)

V

Clerk's *Phraseologia Puerilis Anglo-Latina*,
and the Early Translations of the *Colloquia*.

Cyclops :

Totam faciem tuber reddidi (EOO, I, 833, B). — I pummelled him soundly (Clerk, 30). — J pomelled the knaue frere wel-fauardly (TD, 494).

De Rebus ac Vocabulis :

Equites mihi narras Equuleo dignos (EOO, I, 822, c). — Knights of the Post (Clerk, 29). — these are gentylmen of the Jebet (TD, 1140).

Uxor Μεμψίγαμος :

Mollities byssum superat (EOO, I, 702, B). — As soft as silk (Clerk, 17, 43). — It is softer then sylke (MD, 14).

Qui citra personam omnem posset quamvis agere comœdiam (EOO, I, 705, A). — Hee need's no vizards (Clerk, 44). — ... whyche wythout a vysarde is readye to playe anye maner of parte (MD, 425).

Peregrinatio Religionis ergo :

Nec mihi quisquam persuasurus esset, nisi his oculis... vidissem (EOO, I, 781, D). — I should never have believed it, but that I saw it (Clerk, 25). — all the world cannot make me to beleue yt... But that J sawe it (PD, 1334).

Diversoria :

Si quid causseris (EOO, I, 716, B). — If you finde fault (Clerk, 19). — yf you finde any fault with any thinge (D, 158).

Sudore diffluunt omnes (EOO, I, 717, A). — They drop again (Clerk, 19). — they do euen drop again (D, 252).

THE REPRINTS

The present reprints are intended to represent the four sixteenth century books as exactly as modern printing allows. The size is somewhat enlarged, the photographic reproductions of the titlepages giving the exact dimensions of the originals. The ornamental initial letters in the *Two Dialoges* (TD, 2, 96, 686), and in the *Mery Dialogue* (MD, 1), as well as Griffyth's device in *Diuersoria* (D, 527), are reproduced in photo-type. All other titles and colophons imitate minutely in form and arrangement what is found in the copies. The text in black letter had to be set up in Roman type; consequently the difference between the double forms of *r* and *s* (*r* and *z*, *s* and *t*) could not be rendered; neither could the final *s* resembling the Greek ζ, which occasionally occurs in the *Pylgremage of Pure Deuotyōn* ¹⁾; what in that Colloquy is in Roman type, is printed here in Italics. Pagination, running titles (for the *Two Dyaloges*, *Mery Dialogue* and *Pylgremage*) and the numbers next to the lines have been added. But for these exceptions, the four texts have been reproduced, with their spelling, misprints, different characters, wrong fount types, turned letters, abbreviations ²⁾, spacing, punctuation ³⁾,

¹⁾ The small ornaments and marks used in the *Pylgremage* either as signatures, or as a means to connect the marginal notes with the text, have been reproduced as nearly as could be, as is explained in the *Introduction*, pp. lv-lviii.

²⁾ Such abbreviations — besides *ye*, *y^u*, *w^t* and *yt*, for: the, thou, with and that — occur e. g., in : *mā* : TD, 137; *matt'* : TD, 136; *Polyphem^o* : TD, 97; *q̃* : TD, 471; *p̃pare* : TD, 598; *paduētūre* : TD, 756; *sepate* ; PD, 1356; *ȳtue* : PD, 1299.

³⁾ A very small cross (+) is often used in the *Pylgremage* as a period; it has been replaced by a point : cp. *Introduction*, p. lvii; the quaint interrogation mark of *Diuersoria*, viz., a comma over a period (·), has been reproduced here as such.

reference marks and ornaments, disposition of catch-words, of signatures and (for the *Diuersoria*) of running titles.

I draw the attention to, and apologize for, the following misprints which escaped me in correcting the proofs : they have been entered in the *Lists of Textual Notes* (between angular brackets < >).

ERRATA

Two Dyaloges.

<i>TD</i> , 147	<i>instead of</i> suche	<i>please read</i> such
255	greate	great
440.	inough	inoughe
478	God	god
513	shat	that
761	peophe	people

A Mery Dialogue.

<i>MD</i> , 131	<i>instead of</i> fro	<i>please read</i> frö
586	Fyrst and	Fyrst &
846	him	him.

Ye Pylgremage of Pure Devotyön.

<i>PD</i> , 943	<i>instead of</i> desyryd	<i>please read</i> desyred
1126	gra-	grä-
1475 (<i>margin</i>)	ost	lost

TEXTS

I

CYCLOPS, sive
EVANGELIOPHORUS —
DE REBUS AC VOCABULIS

TWO DYALOGES :

ONE CALLED *POLYPHEMUS*
OR *THE GOSPELLER*

THE OTHER DYSPOSYNG OF
THYNGES AND NAMES

[1549]

Two dyalogues
wrytten in laten

by the famous clerke D. Eras-
mus of Roterodame one called
Polyphemus or the gospeller/
the other dysposyng of thynges
and names/ translated
in to Englyshe by
Edmonde
Becke.

And prynted at Cantorbury
in saynt Pauls paryshe
by Iohn Mychell.



Fol. 1 v. TWO DYALOGES.

The p̄face to the Reader.



Ucius Anneus Seneca
amonge many other pra-
tie saienges (gentle reder)
hathe this also, whiche in 5
my iudgement is as trew
as it is wittie. Rogādo cogit qui rogat
superior. And in effecte is thus moch to
say, yf a mānes superior or his better de
syre any thīge, he might aswell cōmāde 10
it by authoritie as ones to desyre it.

A gentleman a nere cosyn of myne, but
moch nerer in fryndshyp, eftesones dyd
instant and moue me to translate these
two dyaloges folowyng, to whose gē 15
tlenes J am so moch obliged, indetted
and bounde, that he myght well haue
cōmaunded me to this and more pay-
nes : to whome J do not onely owe ser-
uyce, but my selfe also. And in accōplys- 20
shyng of his most honest request (part
ly bycause J wolde not the moost inhu-
mane fawte of Jngratitude shuld wor

A. ii. thely

thely be imputed to me, & that J might
25 in this thyng also (accordynge to my
bounden dutie) gratifie my frende) J
haue hassard my selfe in these daunge-
rous dayes, where many are so capcy-
ous, some prone and redy to malygne &
30 depraue, and fewe whose eares are not
so festidious, tendre, and redy to please,
that in very tryfles & thynges of small
importaunce, yet exacte dyligence and
exquisite iudgement is looked for and re-
35 quyred, of them whiche at this present
wyll attempte to translate any boke be
it that the matter be neuer so base. But
what diligence J haue employed in the
translaciō hereof J referre it to the iud-
40 gement of the lerned sort, whiche cōfer-
rynge my translacion with the laten dy-
aloges, J dowte not wyl condone and
pardone my boldnesse, in that that J
challenge the semblable lybertie whiche
45 the translatoours of this tyme iustlie
challenge. For some here tofore submyt
tyng them selfe to seruytude, haue lytle
respect

respecte to the obseruacyō of the thyng
which in translacyō is of all other most
necessary and requisite, that is to saye, 50
to rendre the sence & the very meanyng
of the author, not so relygyouslie ad-
dicte to translate worde for worde, for
so the sence of the author is oftentimes
corrupted & depraued, and neyther the 55
grace of the one tonge nor yet of the o-
ther is truely obserued or aptlie expres-
sed. The lerned knoweth y^t euery tonge
hathe his peculyer proprietie, phrase,
maner of locucion, enargies and vehe- 60
mēcie, which so aptlie in any other tōg
cannot be expressed. Yf J shal perceyue
this my symple doinge to be thankeful
ly taken, and in good parte accepted, it
shall encorage me hereafter to attempte 65
the translaciō of some bokes dysposing
of matters bothe delectable, frutefull, &
expedient to be knowen, by the grace of
God, who gyuyng me quyetnes of
mynde, lybertie, and abylytie, shall not 70
desyste to communicat the frute of my
spare

spare howers, to such as are not lerned
in the laten tonge : to whome J dedy-
cat the fyrste frutes of this my symple
75 translacyon.

A declaracion of the names.

P Oliphemus sygnifieth, valyant
or noble, and in an other sygnifi-
cacion, talcatyfe or clybbe of tong. The
80 name of a Gyant called Cyclops, ha-
uyng but one eye in his forhed, of a
huge stature and a myghtie psonage.
And is aplied here to sygnifie a great
freke or a lubber, as this Poliphemus
85 was, whiche beyng a man of warre or
a courtyer, had a newe testament in his
hande, and loked buselie for some
sentence or text of scrypture
and that Cannius his
90 companyō espyed
and sayd to
hī as fo-
loweth.

The

**¶ The parsons names are
Cannius and Poliphemus.** 95



Annius. what hunt Poliphe-
me for here? Poliphem⁹. Aske
ye what J hunt for here, and
yet ye se me haue neyther dogges, dart,
Jauelyn, nor huntynge staffe. Cannius. 100
Paraduenture ye hunt after some pra-
ty nympe of the couert. Poliphemus.
By my trouth and well coniectured, be
holde what a goodly pursenet, or a hay
J haue here in my hande. Canni⁹. Be- 105
nedicite, what a straunge syght is this,
me thinke J se Bachus in a lyons skin,
Poliphemus with a boke in his hande.
This is a dogge in a doblet, a sowe w^t
a sadle, of all that euer J se it is a non 110
deceit. Poliphe. J haue not onely payn-
ted and garnysshed my boke with saf-
fron, but also J haue lymmed it withe
Sinople, asaphetida, redleed, vermilō,
and byse. Can. Jt is a warlyke boke, 115
for it is furnisshed with knottes, tassils
plates,

plates, claspes, and brasen bullyons.
Poliphe. Take the boke in your hand
and loke within it. Canni. J se it wery
120 well. Truly it is a praty boke, but me
thynkes ye haue not yet trymmed it
sufficiently for all your cost ye haue be-
stowed vpon it. Poliphe. why what lac
kes it? Canni. Thou shuldest haue set
125 thyne armes vpon it. Poliphem⁹. what
armes J beseche the? Cāni⁹. Mary the
heed of Silenus, an olde iolthed drun-
kard totynge out of a hoggshed or a
tunne, but in good earnest, wherof dothe
130 your boke dyspose or intreate? dothe it
teache the art and crafte to drynke a
duetaunt? Poli. Take hede in goddes
name what ye say lest ye bolt out a blas
phemie before ye be ware. Cāni⁹. why
135 bydde ye me take hede what J saye? is
there any holy matt' in the boke? Poli.
what mā it is the gospels boke, J trow
there is nothyng can be more holye.
Canni⁹. God for thy grace what hathe
140 Poliphemus to do withe the gospels?
Poli.

Poli. Nay why do ye not aske what a
 chrysten man hathe to do with christe?
 Canni⁹. J can not tell but me thynkes
 a rousty byll or a halbard wold become
 such a great lubber or a slouyn as thou 145
 arte a great deale better, for yf it were
 my chaūce to mete suche one and knewe
 him not vpon seeborde, and he lokd so
 lyke a knaue and a ruffyā as thou dost
 J wolde take hym for a pirate or a ro- 150
 uer vpon the see/and if J met such one
 in the wood for an arrante thefe, and a
 man murderer. Poli. yea good syr but
 the gospell teache vs this same lesson,
 that we shuld not iudge any person by 155
 his loke or by his externall & outwarde
 apparaunce. For lyke wyse as many
 tymes vnder a graye freers coote a ty-
 rannous mynde lyeth secretly hyd, euē
 so apolled heed, a crispe or a twyrled 160
 berde, a frowninge, a ferse, or a dogged
 loke, a cappe, or a hat with an oystrich
 fether, a soldyers cassocke, a payre of
 hoose all to cut and manglyd, may co-
uer

165 uer an euangelycall mynde. Cannius.
why not, mary God forbyd elles, yea &
many tymes a symple shepe lyeth hyd
in a wolves skynne, and yf a man maye
credite and beleue the fables of Aesope,
170 an asse maye lye secretely vnknownen by
cause he is in a lyons skynne. Poliphe.
Naye J knowe hym whiche bereth a
shepe vpon his heed, and a foxe in his
brest, to whome J wold wysshe with al
175 my hart that he had as whyte and as
fauorable frendes as he hathe blacke
eyes. And J wolde wysshe also that he
were aswell guylt ouer and ouer as he
hathe a colour mete to take guyltynge.
180 Canni. Yf ye take hym to were a shepe
vpon his heed, that weareth a cappe of
woll, howe greuously than art thou lo
dyn, or what an excedynge heuy burde
bearest thou then J praye the whiche
185 bearest a hoole shepe and an ostryche to
vpon thy heed? But what saye ye to hi
doth not he more folyssly which beareth
a byrd vpon his heed, and an asse in his
brest.

brest. Poliphemus. There ye nypped &
 taunted me in dede. Cannius. But J 190
 wolde saye this geere dyd wonderous
 wel yf this gospel boke dyd so adournè
 the with vertue as thou hast adourned
 lymmed, and gorgiously garnysshed it
 with many gay goodly glystryng orna 195
 mentes. Mary syr thou hast set it forth
 in his ryght colours in dede, wolde to
 god it might so adourne the with good
 cōdiciōs that thou myghtest ones lerne
 to be an honest man. Poli. There shall 200
 be no defaute in me. J tell you J wyll
 do my diligence. Can. Naye there is no
 doute of that, there shall be no more
 faute in you now J dare say then was
 wonte to be. Poli. Yea but (youre tarte 205
 tauntes, and youre churlysshe checkes,
 and raylynges set asyde) tell me J pray
 the this one thyng, do you thus dis-
 prayse, condempne, or fynde faute with
 them whiche caryeth aboute with them 210
 the newe testament or the gospel boke?
 Canni. No by my fayth do J not good
 praty

praty man. Poliphe. Call ye me but a
praty one and J am hygher then you
215 by y^e length of a good asses heed. Can.
J thynke not fully so moche yf the asse
stretch forth his eares, but go to it skyl
lis no matter of that, let it passe, he that
bare Christ vpon his backe was called
220 Christofer, and thou whiche bearest the
gospell boke aboute with the shall for
Poliphemus be called the gospeller or
the gospell bearer. Polip. Do not you
counte it an holy thyng to cary aboute
225 with a man the newe testament? Cāni.
why no syr by my trouthe do J not, ex-
cept thou graunte the very asses to be
holy to. Poli. How can an asse be holy?
Cannius. For one asse alone is able to
230 beare thre hundreth suche bokes, and
J thynke suche a great lubber as thou
art were stronge inoughe to beare as
great a burden, and yf thou had a han-
some packesadle sette vpon thy backe.
235 Poliphe. And yet for all your iestyng
it is not agaynst good reason to saye
that

that y^e asse was holy whiche bore christ.
 Cannius. J do not enuye you man for
 this holynes for J had as lefe you had
 that holynes as J, and yf it please you 240
 to take it J wyll geue you an holy & a
 religious relyke of the selfe same asse
 whiche christ rode vpon, and whan ye
 haue it ye may kysse it lycke it and cull
 it as ofte as ye lyst. Poly. Mary syr J 245
 thanke you, ye can not gyue me a more
 thanckefull gyfte nor do me a greater
 pleasure, for that asse withouten any
 fayle was made as holye as any asse
 could be by the touchynge of christes 250
 body. Canni^o. Undouted they touched
 christes body also whiche stroke and
 buffeted christ. Poliphe. yea but tell me
 this one thyng J praye the in good
 earnest. Js it not a greate sygne of holy- 255
 nes in a man to cary aboute the gospel
 boke or the newe testament? Cannius.
 Jt is a token of holynes in dede if it be
 done without hypocrysie, J meane if it
 be done without dissimulacion/and for 260
 that

that end, intent & purpose, that it shuld
be done for. Poliphe. What the deuyt &
a morren tellest thou a man of warre of
hypocrisie, away with hypocrisie to the
265 monkes and the freers. Cannius. Yea
but bycause ye saye so, tell me fyrste J
praye you what ye call hypocrisie. Po.
When a man pretendis another thyng
outwardly then he meanis secretly in
270 his mynde. Cannius. But what dothe
the bearynge aboute of the newe testa-
ment sygnifie. Dothe it not betoken
that thy lyfe shulde be conformable to
the gospell which thou carryest aboute
275 with the. Poli. J thynke well it dothe.
Canni^o. Wel then when thy lyfe is not
conformable to the boke, is not that
playne hypocrisie. Poliph. Tell me thē
what you call the trewe carienge of the
280 gospell boke aboute with a man. Cāni.
Sōme men beare it aboute with them
in theyr hādes (as the gray freers were
wonte to beare the rule of sayut Fraun-
ces) and so the porters of Londō, Asses
and

& horses may beare it as well as they. 285
 And there be some other that carry the
 gospel in theyr mouthes onlie, and such
 haue no other talke but al of christ and
 his gossell, and that is a very poynt of
 a pharysey. And some other carrye it in 290
 in theyr myndes. But in myne opynion he
 beares the gossell boke as he shuld do
 whiche bothe beares it in his hande, cō
 munes of it with his mouth whan occa
 syon of edifyenge of his neyghboure 295
 whan conuenient oportunitie is my-
 nystred to him, and also beares it in his
 mynde and thynkes vpon it withe his
 harte. Poli. Yea thou art a mery fellow,
 where shall a man fynde suche blacke 300
 swānes? Cannius. Jn euery cathedrall
 church, where there be any deacons, for
 they beare the gospel boke ī theyr hāde,
 they synge the gossell aloud, somtyme
 in a lofte that the people may heare thē, 305
 althoughe they do not vnderstand it,
 and theyr myndes are vpō it when they
 synge it. Polphe. And yet for all your
 sayenge

sayenge all suche deacons are no saync-
310 tes that beare the gospell so in theyr
myndes. Cannius. But lest ye play the
subtyle and capcious sophystryar with
me J wyll tell you this one thyng be-
fore. No man can beare the gospell in
315 his mynde but he must nedes loue it
from the bothum of his harte, no man
loueth it inwardly and from the bothū
of his harte but he must nedes declare
and expresse the gospell in his lyuinge,
320 outwarde maners, & behauour. Poli.
J can not skylle of youre subtyle reaso-
nynges, ye are to fyne for me. Can. Thē
J wyll commune with you after a gros-
ser maner, and more playnly. yf thou
325 dyddest beare a tankard of good Rey-
nyshe wyne vpon thy shulders onelye,
what other thyng were it to the then a
burden. Poliphe. It were none other
thyng truly, it is no great pleasure to
330 beare wyne. Canni⁹. What and yf thou
dranke asmoche as thou coudest well
holde in thy mouthe, after the maner of
a gargarisme

a gargarisme & spyt it out agayne. Po.
 That wolde do me no good at all, but
 take me not with suche a faute J trow, 335
 for the wyne is very bad and if J do so.
 Canni. But what and yf thou drynke
 thy skynne full as thou art wont to do,
 whē thou comest where good wyne is.
 Poliphe. Mary there is nothyng more 340
 godly or heuynly. Canni⁹. Jt warmes
 you at the stomacke, it settēs your body
 in a heate, it makes you loke with a
 ruddy face, and setteth your hart vpon
 a mery pynne. Poliphe. That is suerly 345
 so as ye saye in dede. Canni. The gos-
 pēll is suche a lyke thyngē of all this
 worlde, for after that it hathe ones per-
 sed & entered in the veynes of the mynd
 it altereth, transposeth, and cleane chan- 350
 geth vpsodoꝝne the whole state of mā,
 and chaungeth hym cleane as it were
 into a nother man. Polip. Ah ha, nowe
 J wot wherabout ye bē, belyke ye thike
 that J lyue not accordynge to the gos- 355
 pēll or as a good gospeller shulde do.

B. i. Canni.

Canni⁹. There is no man can dyssolue
this questiō better then thy selfe. Poli.
Call ye it dissoluynge? Naye and yf a
360 thyng come to dyssoluynge gyue me a
good sharpe axe in my hande and J
trow J shall dyssolue it well inoughe.
Canni. What woldest thou do, J praye
the, and yf a man shulde say to thy teth
365 thou lvest falsely, or elles call the by thy
ryght name knaue in englysshe. Poli.
What wolde J do quod he, that is a
question in dede, mary he shulde feele
the wayghte of a payre of churlyshe
370 fystes J warrant the. Canni. And what
and yf aman gaue you a good cuffe vp-
on the eare that shulde waye a pounce?
Poliphe. Jt were a well geuen blowe
that wolde aduauntage hym. xx. by my
375 trouthe and he escaped so he myght say
he rose vpon his ryght syde, but it were
maruayle & J cut not of his head harde
by his shulders. Canni. Yea but good
felowe thy gospell boke teacheth the to
380 geue gentle answers, and fayre wordes
agayne

agayne for fowle, and to hym that ge-
 ueth the a blowe vpon the ryght cheke
 to holde forth the lyfte. Poliphe. J do
 remembre J haue red suche a thinge in
 my boke, but ye must pardone me for J 385
 had quyte forgotten it. Can. Well go
 to, what saye ye to prayer J suppose ye
 praye very ofte. Poli. That is euyn as
 very a touche of a pharesey as any can
 be. Cannius. J graunt it is no lesse thē 390
 a poynte of a pharesey to praye longe
 and faynedly vnder a colour or pretēce
 of holynes, that is to saye when aman
 prayeth not frō the bothum of his hart
 but with the lyppes only and from the 395
 tethe outward, and that in opyn places
 where great resort of people is, bycause
 they wold be sene. But thy gospel boke
 teacheth the to praye contynually, but
 so that thy prayer come from the bothū 400
 of the hart. Poli. Yea but yet for all my
 sayenge J praye sumtyme. Can. When
 J beseche the when yⁿ art a slepe? Poli.
 When it cometh in to my mynde, ones

B. ii. or

405 or twyse may chaunce in a weke. Can.
what prayer sayst thou? Poliphe. The
lordes prayer, the Pater noster. Canni.
Howe many tymes ouer? Poli. Onis, &
J trowe it is often inoughe, for the gos
410 pell forbyddeth often repetynge of one
thyng. Canni. Can ye saye your pater
noster through to an ende & haue youre
mynde runnyng vpon nothyng elles
in all that whyle? Poli. By my trouthe
415 and ye wyll beleue me J neuer yet as-
sayed nor proued whether J coulde do
it or no. But is it not sufficient to saye
it with my mouthe? Can. J can not tell
whether it be or no. But J am sure god
420 here vs not excepte we praye from the
bothum of our harte. But tell me ano-
ther thyng J wyll aske the. Doest thou
not fast very often? Poli. No neuer in
all my lyfe tyme and yf it were not for
425 lacke of meate. Can. And yet thy boke
alowes and commendes hyghly bothe
fastyng and prayer. Polip. So coulde
J alowe them to but that my belly can
not

not well affare nor away with fastyng.
 Canni⁹. Yea but Paule sayth they are 430
 not the seruauntes of Jesus Christe
 whiche serue theyr belly & make it theyr
 god. Do you eate fleshe euery day? Po.
 No neuer when J haue none to eate,
 but J neuer refuse it when it is set be- 435
 fore me, and J neuer aske question not
 for cōscience but for my belly sake. Can.
 Yea but these stronge sturdy sydes of
 suche a chuffe and a lobbynge loby as
 thou arte wolde be fed wel inough w^t 440
 haye and barke of trees. Poliphe. Yea
 but chryste sayd, that which entereth in
 at the mouthe defyleth not the man.
 Canni. That is to be vnderstand thus
 yf it be measurably taken, and without 445
 the offendinge of our christian brother.
 But Paule the disciple of chryst had ra-
 ther peryshe & sterue with hunger then
 onys to offende his weyke brothren w^t
 his eatyng, and he exhorteth vs to fol 450
 lowe his example that in all thynges
 we maye please all men. Poli, What tel
ye me

ye me of Paule, Paule is Paule and J
am J. Canni⁹. Do you gladly helpe to
455 releue the poore and the indygent with
your goodes? Poli. Howe can J helpe
them whiche haue nothyng to gyue
them, and scant inoughe for my selfe.
Cannius. ye myght spare somthyng
460 to helpe thē with yf thou woldest playe
the good husband in lyuyng more wa
rely, in moderatyng thy snperfluous
expenses, and in fallynge to thy worke
lustely. Polyphem⁹ Nay then J were a
465 fole in dede, a peny worth of ease is euer
worth a peny, and nowe J haue found
so moch pleasure in ease that J cannot
fall to no labour. Canni. Do you kepe
the commaundementes of god? Polip.
470 | Nowe ye appose me, kepe the cōmaun-
dementes q he, that is a payne in dede.
Cannius. Art thou sory for thy synnes
and thyne offences, doest thou earnestly
repent the for thē. Poliphemns. Christ
475 hath payed the raunsome of synne and
satisfied for it alredy. Cannius. Howe
prouyst

prouest thou then that thou louest the
gospell and fauoris the word of God as
thou bearest men in hande thou doest.
Poliphemus. J wyll tell you that by & 480
by, and J dare saye you wyl confesse no
lesse your selfe then that Jam an earnest
fauorer of the worde when J haue told
you y^t tale. There was a certayne gray
frere of the order of saynt Fraunces w^t 485
vs whiche neuer ceased to bable and
rayle agaynste the newe testament of
Erasmus, J chaunsed to talke with the
gētylman pryuatly where no man was
present but he and J, and after J had 490
communed a whyle with hym J caught
my frere by the polled pate with my left
hande and with my right hāde J drew
out my daggar and J pomelled the
knaue frere welfauardly aboute his 495
skonce that J made his face as swollen
and as puffed as a puddynge. Canni^o.
what a tale is this that thou tellest me.
Poliphemus. How say you is not this
a good and a sufficient proue that J fa 500
uer

uer the gospell. J gaue hym absolucion
afore he departed out of my handes w^t
this newe testament thryse layde vpon
his pate as harde as J myght dryue y^t
505 J made thre bunches in his heed as
bygge as thre egges in the name of the
father, the sone, & the holy goost. Can.
Now by my trouth this was well done
& lyke a ryght gospeller of these dayes.
510 Truly this is as they saye to dyffende
the gospell with the gospell. Poliphe.
J met another graye frere of the same
curryshe couent, shat knaue neuer had
done in raylynge agaynst Erasmus, so
515 sone as J had espyed hym J was styr-
red and moued with the brenninge ze-
le of the gospell that in thretenyng of him
J made hym knele downe vpon his
knees and crye Erasmus mercie and de
520 syred me to forgyue him, J may saye to
you it was hyghe tyme for hym to fall
downe vpon his marybones, and yf he
had not done it by and by J had my hal
barde

barde vp redy to haue gyuen hym be-
 twyxt the necke and the heade, J loked 525
 as grymme as modie Mars when he
 is in furyous fume, it is trewe that J
 tell you, for there was inoughe sawe
 the frere and me yf J wolde make a lye.
 Canni⁹. J maruayle the frere was not 530
 out of his wyt. But to retourne to oure
 purpose agayne, dost thou lyue chastly?
 Poliphemus. Peradventure J maye
 do here after when J am more stryken
 in age. But shall J confesse the trouthe 535
 to the? Canni. J am no preest man, ther
 fore yf thou wylt be shryuen thou must
 seke a preest to whome thou maye be
 lawfully confessed. Poliphe. J am wont
 styl to cōfesse my selfe to god, but J wyl 540
 confesse thus moche to the at this tyme
 J am not yet become a perfyte gospel-
 ler or an euangelical man, for J am but
 yet as it were one of y^e cōmune people,
 ye knowe wel perde we gospellers haue 545
 iiii. gospels wrytten by the. iiii. euange-
 lystes,

lystes, & suche gospellers as J am hunt
busely, and chefely for. iiii. thynges that
we may haue. Unde. to prouyde dayn-
550 tie fare for the bellie, that nothyng be
lackynge to that parte of the body whi-
che nature hath placed vnder the belly,
ye wote what J meane, and to obtayne
and procure suche liuinge that we may
555 lyue welthely and at pleasure without
carke & care. And fynally that we maye
do what we lyst without checke or con-
trolment, yf we gospellars lacke none
of all these thynges we crye and synge
560 for ioye, amonge our ful cuppes Jo Jo
we tryumphe and are wonderfull fro-
lycke, we synge and make as mery as
cup and can, and saye the gospell is a
lyue agayne Chryst rayneth. Cannius.
565 This is a lyfe for an Epycure or a god
belly and for no euangelicall persone
that professeth the gospell. Poli. J de-
nye not but that it is so as ye saye, but
ye knowe well that god is omnipotent
570 and can do al thynges, he can turne vs
when

whē his wyll is sodenly in to other ma
 ner of men. Cannius. So can he trans-
 forme you in to hogges and swyne, the
 whiche maye soner be done J iudge thē
 to chaunge you in to good men for ye 575
 are halfe swynyshe & hoggyshe alredy,
 your lyuyngē is so beastlie. Poliphe.
 Holde thy peas mā wolde to god there
 were no men that dyd more hurt in the
 world then swyne, bullockes, asses, and 580
 camelles. A mā may se many men now
 adayes more crueller then lyons, more
 rauenyngē thē wolues, more lecherous
 then sparous, and that byte worse then
 mad dogges, more noysom thē snakes, 585
 vepers and adders. Canni⁹. But nowe
 good Polipheme remembre and loke
 vpon thy selfe for it is hyghe tyme for
 the to laye a syde thy beastly lyuyngē,
 and to be tourned from a brute and a sa 590
 uage beast in to a man. Poliphem⁹. J
 thanke you good neyghbour Cannius
 for by saynt Mary J thynke your coun-
 sayle is good / for the prophetes of this
 tyme

595 tyme sayth the worlde is almost at an
end, and we shall haue domes daye (as
they call it) shortely. Canni⁹. We haue
therfore more nede to p̄pare our selues
in a redines agaynst that day, and that
600 with as moche spede as maye be possi-
ble. Poliphemus. as for my part J loke
and wayte styll euery day for the mygh-
ty hande and power of christ. Cannius.
Take hede therfore that thou, when
605 christ shall laye his myghty hande vp-
on the be as tendre as waxe, that accor-
dynge to his eternall wyll he maye fra-
me & fashyon the with his hande. But
wherby J praye the dothe these prophe-
610 tes coniecture & gather that the worlde
is almost at an ende. Poliphe. Bycause
men (they saye) do the selfe same thinge
nowe adayes that they dyd, and were
wont to do which were lyuyng in the
615 worlde a lytle whyle before the deluge
or Noyes floode. They make solempne
feastes, they banket, they quaffe, they
booll, they bybbe, they ryot men mary,
women

womē are maryed, they go a catterwal-
lynge and horehuntings, they bye, they 620
sell, they lend to vserie, and borowe vp
on vserie, they builde, kīges kepe warre
one agaynst another, preestes studie
howe they maye get many benefyces
and promociōs to make them selfe riche 625
and increase theyr worldly substaunce,
the diuynes make insolible sillogismus
and vnperfyte argumētes, they gather
conclusyons, monkes and freers rūne,
at rouers ouer all the world, the comyn 630
people are in a mase or a hurle burle re-
dy to make insurrections, and to con-
clude breuelie there lackes no euyll mi-
serie nor myschefe, neyther hōger, thyrst
fellonie, robberie, warre, pestilence, sedi 635
ciō, derth, and great scarsytie and lacke
of all good thynges. And howe say you
do not all these thynges argue and su-
fficientlie proue that the worlde is al-
most at an ende? Cannius. Yea but tell 640
me J praye the of all thes hoole hepe of
euyls and miseries whiche greueth the
moste?

moste? Poliphemus. Whiche thyntes
thou, tell me thy fansie and coniecture?

645 Cannius. That the Deuyll (god saue
vs) maye daunce in thy purse for euer
a crosse that thou hast to kepe hī forthe.
Poliphe. J pray god J dye and yf thou
haue not hyt the nayle vpon the head.

650 Now as chaunceth J come newly from
a knotte of good companye where we
haue dronke harde euery man for his
parte, & J am not behynde with myne,
and therfore my wytte is not halfe so
655 freshe as it wyll be, J wyll dyspute of
the gospell with the whan J am sobre.

Canni. When shal J se the sobre? Poli.
When J shall be sobre. Cannius. Whē
wyll that be? Poliph. When thou shalt
660 se me, in the meane season god be with
you gentle Cannius and well mot you
do. Cannius. And J wyshe to you a
gayne for my parte that thou ware in
dede as valiaunt or pusaunt a felowe
665 as thy name soundeth. Poliphe And
bycause ye shall lose nothyng at my
hande

hande with wysshynge J pray god that
Cannius maye neuer lacke a good can
or a stoope of wyne or bere, wherof he
had his name.

670

A I A I S

¶ The dialoge of thynges
and names.

A declaracion of the names.

BEatus, is he whiche hathe abun
dance of al thinges that is good, 675
and is parfyte in all thynges commen-
dable or prayseworthy or to be desyred
of a good man. Somtyme it is ta-
ken for fortunate, ryche, or 680
noble. Bonifaci⁹, fayre,
full of fauor or well
fauored.



The

685 ¶ The parsons names are
Beatus and Bonifacius.



Eatus. God saue you may
ster Boniface, Bonifaci^o.
God saue you & god saue
you agayne gētle Beatus.
690 But J wold god bothe we
were such, and so in very dede as we be
called by name, that is to say thou riche
& J fayre. Beatus. Why do you thynke
it nothyng worth at al to haue a good
695 ly glorious name. Bonifacius. Truely
me thynke it is of no valure or lytle
good worthe, onles a man haue the
thyng it selfe whiche is sygnified by
the name. Beatus. Yea you maye well
700 thynke your pleasure, but J am assured
that the most part of all mortall men be
of another mynde. Bonifa. Jt may wel
be J do not denye that they are mortal,
but suerly J do not byleue that they are
705 mē, which are so beastly mynded. Bea.
Yes good syr and they be men to laye
your

your lyfe, onlesse ye thynke camels and
asses do walke aboute vnder the fy-
gure and forme of men. Boni. Mary
J can soner beleue that then that they 710
be men whiche esteeme and pasle more
vpon the name, then the thyng. Bea. J
graunte in certayne kyndes of thinges
moost men had rather haue the thyng
then the name, but in many thynges it 715
is otherwyse and cleane cōtrary. Bo. J
can not well tell what ye meane by that
Bea. And yet the example of this matter
is apparant or sufficiently declared in
vs two. Thou arte called Bonifacius 720
and thou hast in dede the thyng wher-
by thou bearest thy name. yet if there
were no other remedy but eyther thou
must lacke the one or the other, whether
had you rather haue a fowle and deformed 725
face or elles for Boniface be called
Maleface or horner? Boni. Beleue me J
had rather be called fowle Thersites
then haue a monstrous or a deformyd
face, whether J haue a good face or no 730

C. i. J can

J can not tell. *Bea.* And euen so had J
for yf J were ryche and there were no re
medy but that J must eyther forgoo my
rychesse, or my name J had rather be cal
735 led Jrus whiche was a poore beggers
name then lacke my ryches. *Boni.* J a-
gree to you for asmoch as ye speake the
trouth, and as you thynke. *Bea.* Judge
all them to be of the same mynde that
740 J am of whiche are indued with helthe
or other commodities and qualities ap
partaynyng to the body. *Boni.* That is
very trewe. *Bea.* Yea but J praye the cō-
syder and marke howe many men wese
745 whiche had rather haue the name of a
lerned and a holy man, then to be well
lerned, vertuous, & holy in dede. *Boni.* J
knowe a good sorte of suche men for my
part. *Bea.* Tell me thy fātasie J pray the
750 do not suche men passe more vpon the
name then the thinge? *Boni.* Methynke
thy do. *Bea.* Yf we had a logician here
whiche could well and clarkelie defyne
what were a kynge, what a bysshoppe,
what

what a magistrate, what a philosopher 755
 is, paduētūre we shuld find som amōg
 these iolly felowes whiche had rather
 haue the name then the thyng. Boni.
 Surely & so thynke I. Yf he be a kinge
 whiche by lawe and equyte regardes 760
 more the commoditie of his peoppe then
 his owne lucre/yf he be a bisshop which
 alwayes is careful for the lordes flocke
 cōmytted to his pastorall charge/yf he
 be a magistrate which frankelie and of 765
 good wyll dothe make prouysyon, and
 dothe all thinge for the comyn welthes
 sake/and yf he be a phylosopher whiche
 passynge not vpon the goodes of this 770
 worlde, only geueth hym selfe to attayn
 to a good mynde, and to leade a ver-
 tuous lyfe. Bea. Lo thus ye may persey-
 ue what a nombre of semblable exāples
 ye may collecte & gether. Boni. Undou-
 ted a great sorte. Bea. But I pray the tel 775
 me wyll you saye that all these are no
 men. Boni. Nay I feare rather lest in so
 sayenge it shulde cost vs our lyues, and

¶. ii. so

so myght we our selues shortelye be no
780 men. ^{Bea.} Yf man be a resonable crea-
ture, howe ferre dyffers this from all
good reason, that in cōmodities aper-
tayning to the body (for so they deserue
rather to be called then goodnes) and
785 in outwarde gyftes whiche dame for-
tune geues and takes awaye at her ple-
asure, we had rather haue the thyng
then the name, and in the true and only
goodnes of the mynd we passe more vp
790 on the name then the thyng. ^{Boni.} So
god helpe me it is a corrupte and a pre-
posterours iudgement, yf a man marke
and consyder it wel. ^{Bea.} The selfe same
reason is in contrarie thinges. ^{Boni.} J
795 wolde gladly knowe what ye meane
by that. ^{Bea.} We maye iudge lykewyse
the same of the names of thynges to be
eschued, and incommodites which was
spoken of thynges to be dissyred and cō
800 modites. ^{Boni.} Nowe J haue considered
the thynges well, it apereth to be euen
so as ye saye in. dede. ^{Bea.} Jt shulde be
more

more feared of a good prynce to be a ty
 raunt in dede then to haue the name of
 a tyraunt. And yf an euyll bysshop be a 805
 thefe and a robber, then we shulde not
 so greatly abhorre and hate the name
 as the thyng. *Boni.* Eyther so it is or so
 it shuld be. *Bea.* Nowe gather you of
 the rest as I haue done of the prynce & 810
 the bysshop. *Boni.* Me thynkes I vnder-
 stande this gere wonderousewell. *Bea.*
 Do not all men hate the name of a fole
 or to be called a moome, a sotte, or an
 asse? *Boni.* Yeas as moche as they do 815
 any one thyng. *Bea.* And how saye you
 were not he a starke fole that wold fishe
 with a goldē bayte, that wolde preferre
 or esteme glasse better then precious sto
 nes, or whiche loues his horse or dog- 820
 ges better then his wyfe and his chyl-
 drē? *Boni.* He were as wyse as waltoms
 calfe, or madder then iacke of Redyng.
Bea. And be not they as wyse whiche
 not assygned, chosen, nor yet ones ap- 825
 poynted by the magistrates, but vpon
 theyr

they owne heed aduenture to runne to
the warres for hoope of a lytle gayne,
ieoperdyng theyr bodyes and daunge
830 ryng theyr soules? Or howe wyse be
they which busie thē selfe to get, gleyne,
and reepe to gyther, goodes and ryches
when they haue a mynde destitute and
lackyng all goodnes? Are not they also
835 euen as wyse that go gorgiously appa
rylled, and buyldes goodly sumptuous
houses, when theyr myndes are not re-
garded but neglect fylthye and with all
kynde of vyce fowle corrupted? And
840 how wyse are they whiche are carefull
diligent and busie, about the helthe of
theyr body neglectyng and not myn-
dyng at all theyr soule, in daunger of
so many deedly synnes? And fynally to
845 conclude howe wyse be they whiche for
a lytle shorte transytorye pleasure of
this lyfe deserue euerlastyng tormen-
tes and punyshementes? *Boni.* Euen re-
ason forseth me to graunt that they are
850 more then frātyke and folyshe. *Bea.* Yea
but

but althoughe all the whole worlde be
full of suche fooles, a man can scaselye
fynde one whiche can abyde the name
of a foole, and yet they deserue to be cal
led so for asmoche as they hate not the 855
thyng. *Boni.* Suerly it is euen so as ye
seye. *Bea.* Ye knowe also howe the na-
mes of a lyar and a thefe are abhorred
and hated of all men. *Boni.* They are
spyteful and odious names, and abhor 860
red of all men, and not withe out good
cause why. *Bea.* J graunte that, but al-
thoughe to commyt adulterie be a more
wycked synne then thefte yet for al that
some men reioyse and shewe them selfe 865
glad of that name, whiche wolde be re-
dy by and by to drawe theyr swerdes
and fyghte withe a man that wolde or
durst call them theues. *Boni.* Jt is true
there are many wolde take it euyll as 870
you saye in dede. *Bea.* And nowe it is
commyn to that poynt that thoughe
there are many vnthryftes and spēdals
whiche consume theyr substaunce at the
wyne

875 wyne and vpon harlottes, and yet so
wyllynge to continewe openly that all
the worlde wonders at them, yet they
wyl be offended and take peper in the
noose yf a man shulde call them ruffy-
880 ans or baudy knaues. *Boni.* Suche fel-
lowes thynke they deserue prayse for
the thyng, and yet for all that they can
not abyde the name dewe to the thinge
whiche they deserue. *Bea.* There is scar-
885 slye any name amonges vs more intol-
lerable or worse can be abydden then to
be called a lyar or a lyeng fellowe. *Boni.*
J haue knowen some or this whiche
haue kyllled men for suche a spytefull
890 worde as that is. *Bea.* Yea yea but
wolde god suche hasty fellowes dyd as
well abhorre the thinge and hate lienge
as well as to be called lyers, was it
neuer thy chaunce to be dysceyued of a-
895 ny man whiche borowinge mony of the
appoyntyng the a certayne daye to re-
paye the sayd money and so performyd
not his appoyntment nor kept his day?

Boni.

Boni. Yeas many tymes (god know-
eth) and yet hath he sworne many a gre- 900
uous othe and that not one tyme but
many tymes. Bea. Peraduenture he
wolde haue ben so honest as to haue
payed it and yf he had had wherwith.
Boni. Naye that is not so for he was a- 905
ble inoughe, but as he thought it better
neuer to paye his dettes. Bea. And
what call you this in englyshe, is it not
playne lyenge? Boni. Yes as playne
as Dunstable waye, there can not be a 910
lowder lye then this is. Bea. Durste
you be so bolde to pulle one of these
good detters of yours by the sleue and
saye thus to hym, why hast thou dyscey-
ued me so many tymes and broken pro- 915
myse with me, or to talke to hym in pla-
yne englyshe, why doest thou make me
so many lyes? Boni. Why no syr by my
trouthe durst I not, excepte I were myn-
ded before to chaūge halfe a dosen drye 920
blowes with hym. Bea. Dothe not ma-
sons, Brekelayers, Carpenters, Smy-
thes,

thes, Goldsmithes, Taylours, disceyue
and disapoynt vs after the lyke maner
925 daylye promysynge to do youre worke
suche a daye and suche a daye without
any fayle, or further delaye, and yet for
all that they parforme not theyr pro-
messe althoughe it stande the neuer so-
930 moche vpon hande, or that thou shul-
dest take neuer so moche profyte by it.

Boni. This is a wonderous and stran-
ge vnshamefast knauerye of all that e-
uer J hard of. But and ye speake of bre-
935 akers of promyse then ye maye reken a
mongest them lawyers and attorneys
at the lawe, which wyl not stycke to pro-
myse or beare you in hande that they
wyl be diligent and earnest in the fur-
940 therāuce and spedie expedicion of your
sute. Bea. Reken q he, naye ye maye
reken syxe hundreth mennes names be
syde these of sundrye faculties and occu-
pacions whiche wyl promyse more by
945 an ynche of a candle then they wyl per-
forme by a whole pounce. Boni. Why
and

and ye call this lyenge all the worlde is
 full of suche lyenge. Bea. Ye se also
 lykewyse that no man can abyde to be
 called thefe, and yet all men do not ab- 950
 horre the thyng so greatly. Boni. J
 wolde gladly haue you to declare your
 mynde in this more playnlye & at large
 Bea. What difference is there betwene
 hym whiche stealeth thy money forthe 955
 of thy cofer, and hym whiche forswear-
 eth and falsely denyeth that whiche
 thou cōmytted to his custodie to be re-
 serued and safely kept for thy vse only,
 or to suche tyme as thou arte mynded 960
 to call for it agayne. Boni. There is as
 they say neyther barrell better hearing,
 but that in my iudgement he is the fal-
 ser knaue of the twayne whiche robbes
 a man that puttes his confidence and 965
 trust in hym. Bea. yea but howe fewe
 men are there nowe adayes lyuyng
 whiche are contente to restore agayne
 that whiche they were put in truste to
 kepe, or yf they delyuer it agayne it is 970
 so

so dymynysshed, gelded, nypped, and
pynched, that it is not delyuered whol-
lye, but some thinge cleues in theyr fyn-
gers, that the prouerbe may haue place
975 where the horse walloweth there lyeth
some heares. *Boni.* J thynke but a
fewe that dothe otherwyse. *Bea.* And
yet for all that there is none of al these
that cā abyde it ones to be called thefe,
980 and yet forsothe they hate not the thing
so greatly. *Boni.* That is as trewe as
the gospell. *Bea.* Consyder me nowe
and marke J beseche the howe the goo-
des of orphanes, pupylls, wardes, and
985 fatherlesse chyldren be cōmuely orde-
red and vsed, how wylles and testamen-
tes be executed and performed, how le-
gacyes and bequethes be communelye
payde, Naye howe moche cleueth and
990 hangeth fast in the fyngers of the execu-
tors or with them that mynyster and in-
termedle with the goodes of the testa-
tours. *Boni.* Many tymes they retay-
ne and kepe in theyr handes all togy-
ther

ther. Bea. Yea they loue to playe the 995
theſe well inoughe, but they loue no-
thyng worse then to here of it. Boni.
That is very trewe. Bea. Howe lytle
dyffers he from a theſe whiche borow-
eth money of one and other and so run- 1000
neth in dette, with this intent and pur-
poſe that yf he maye eſcape ſo or fynde
ſuche a crafty colour or a ſubtyl ſhyft,
he intendeth neuer to paye that he ow-
eth. Boni. Paraduenture he maye be 1005
called warer or more craftier thē a theſe
is in dede but no poynt better, for it
is hard choſyng of a better where there
is neuer a good of them bothe. Bea.
yea but althoughe there be in euery 1010
place a great nombre of ſuch makeshyf-
tes and ſlypper marchauntes yet the
ſtarkeſt knaue of thē all can not abyde
to be called theſe. Boni. God onely
knoweth euery mānes hart and mynd, 1015
and therfore they are called of vs men
that are runne in dette or fer behynde
the hande, but not theues for that ſoun-
deth

deth vnswetely and lyke a playne song
1020 note. Bea. What skyllys it howe they
be called amōge men yf they be theues
afore god. And where you say that god
onely knoweth euery mannes hart and
mynde, euen so euery man knoweth his
1025 owne mynde, whether in his wordes &
doynge he entende fraude, couyn, dys-
ceyte, and thefte or no. But what say ye
by hym whiche when he oweth more
then he is worthe, wyll not stycke to
1030 lashe prodgallye and set the cocke vp-
on the hoope, and yet yf he haue any
money at all lefte to spende that awaye
vnthryftely, and when he hathe played
the parte of a knauyshe spendall in one
1035 cytie deludinge and disceyuyng his cre-
ditours, ronnes out of this countre
and getteth hym to some other good
towne, and there sekyng for straūgers
and newe acquayntaūce whom he may
1040 lykewyse begyle, yea and playeth many
suche lyke partes and shameful shiftes.
J praye the tell me dothe not suche a
greke

greke declare euydentlye by his crafty
dealyng and false demeanour, what
mynde is he of? Boni. yes suerly as e- 1045
uydentlye as can be possible. But yet
suche felowes are wonte to colour and
cloke theyr doynge vnder a craftie pre
tence. Bea. With what J beseche the?
Boni. They saye to owe moche and to 1050
dyuers persones is communely vsed of
great men, yea and of kynges also as
well as of them, and therfore they that
intende to be of that disposycyon wyll
beare out to the harde hedge the porte 1055
of a gentylman and soo they wyll be
taken and esteemed for gentilmen of the
commune people. Bea. A gentylman
and why or to what entent and purpose
a gentylman? Boni. Jt is a straunge 1060
thyng to be spoken howe moche they
thynke it is mete for a gentylman or a
horseman to take vpon hym. Bea. By
what equitye, authoritie, or lawes.
Boni. By none other but by the selfe 1065
same lawes that the Admiralles of the
sees

sees challenge a proprietie in all suche
thynges as are cast vpon the shoore by
wracke, althoughe the ryghte owner
1070 come forthe and challenge his owne
goodes. And also by the same lawes
that some other men saye all is theyrs
what soeuer is founde aboute a thefe or
a robber whē he is takē. Boni Such
1075 lawes as these are the arrantest theues
that are myght make them selues. Bea.
yea and ye may be sure they wold glad-
ly w^t al theyr harts ī their bodies make
suche lawes yf they coulde mayntayne
1080 them or were of power to se them execu-
ted, and they myght haue some thyng
to laye for theyr excuse if they could pro-
clayme opyn warre before they fell to
robbynge. Boni. But who gaue that
1085 pryuylege rather to a horseman then to
a foteman, or more to a gentylman thē
to a good yeman. Bea. The fauoure
that is shewed to men of warre, for by
suche shyftes and thus they practyse be
1090 fore to be good men of warre that they
maye

maye be more redy & hansome to spoyle
 theyr enemyes when they shall encoun-
 ter with thē. Boni. J thynke Pyrrhus
 dyd so exercyse and breake his yonge
 souldyers to the warres. Bea. No not 1095
 Pyrrhus but the Lacedemonians dyd.
 Boni. Mary syr hange vp suche prac-
 tysers or soldyers and theyr practisyng
 to. But howe come they by the name of
 horsemen or gentylmen that they vsur- 1100
 pe suche a great prerogatyue? Bea.
 Some of them are gentylmē borne and
 it cometh to them by auncestrie, some
 bye it by the meanes of maystrys mo-
 ney, and other some gette it by certayne 1105
 shyftes. Boni. But maye euery man
 that wyl and lyst come by it by shyftes?
 Bea. Yea why not, euery man maye be
 a gentylman nowe adayes very well
 and yf theyr condicions and maners be 1110
 accordyng. Boni. What maners or
 condicions must suche one haue J be-
 seche the? Bea. Yf he be occupied a-
 boute no goodnesse, yf he can ruffle it

D. i. and

1115 and swashe in his satens and his silkes
and go gorgiously apparelled, yf he can
ratle in his rynges vpon the fyngers
endes, yf he can playe the ruffyan and
the horemonger and kepe a gaye hoore
1120 gallantlye, yf he be neuer well at ease
but when he is playenge at the dyse, yf
he be able to matche as moche an vn-
thryfte as hym selfe with a newe payre
of cardes, yf he spende his tyme lyke an
1125 epycure vpon bankettinge, sumptuous
fare, and all kynde of pleasures, yf he
talke of no rascalles nor beggars, but
bragge, bost, face, brace, and crake of
castelles, towers, and skyrmysshes, and
1130 yf all his talke be of the warres and blo-
dy battels, and playe the parte of crac-
kinge Thraso thoroughly, such gaye gre-
kes, lusty brutes and ionkers may take
vpon them to be at defyaunce withe
1135 whome they wyll and lyst, thoughe the
gentylman haue neuer a fote of lande
to lyue vpon. *Boni.* Call ye them hors-
men. Mary syr suche horsemen are wel
worthy

worthy to ryde vp̄ the gallowes, these
are gentylmen of the Jebet of all that 1140
euer J haue harde of. Bea. But yet
there be not afewe suche in that parte
of Germany called Nassen or Hessen.

F I N I S

Traslated by Edmonde Becke 1145
And prynced at Cantorburn
in saynt Paules parishe
by Iohn Mychell. 1148



Fol. 26 v. TWO DYALOGES.

II

VXOR MEMΨIGAMOS

SIVE CONIVGIVM

A MERY DIALOGUE, DECLAR-
INGE THE PROPERTYES
OF SHROWDE SHREWES,
AND HONEST
WYUES

1557

✠ A mery Dia-

logue, declaringe the proper-
ties of shrowde shrewes, and ho-
nest wyues, not onelie verie
pleasaunte, but also not a
lytle profitable: made
by þe famous clerke

D. Erasmus
Roteroda-
mus.

Translated into
Englyshe.

1579
2

Anno. m. cccc.
1577.

Fol. 1 v. A MERY DIALOGUE.



Eulalia. God spede, & a thou
sand mine old acquaintance.
xantippa. xan. As many a-
gayn, my dere hert. Eulali.
me semeis ye ar waxē much faire now 5
of late. Eula. Saye you so? gyue you
me a mocke at the first dash. xan. Nay
veryly but J take you so. Eula. Hap-
pely mi new gown maketh me to loke
fayrer then J sholde doe. xan. Sothe 10
you saye, J haue not sene a mynioner
this many dayes, J reken it Englishe
cloth. Eu. Jt is english stuff and dyed
in Uenis. xan. Jt is softer then sylke
what an oriente purpel colore here is 15
who gaue you so rich a gift. Eu. How
shoulde honeste women come by their
gere? but by their husbandes. xā. Hap-
py arte thou that hathe suche an hus-
band, but J wolde to god for his pas- 20
syon, that J had maryed an husband
of clowts, when J had married col my
good mā. Eula. Why say ye so. J pray
you are you at oddes now. xā. J shal
neuer be at one w^t him ye se how beg- 25

¶ ii gerly

gerly J go. J haue not an hole smock
to put on my backe, and he is wel con-
tente with all: J praye god J neuer
come in heuen & J be not ashamed of-
30 times to shewe my head, when J se o-
ther wiues how net and trim they go
that ar matched with farre porer mē
then he is. Eula. The apparell of ho-
nest wiues is not in the aray of the bo-
35 dy, nor in the tirementes of their head
as saynte Peter the apostle teacheth
vs (and that J learned a late at a ser-
mon) but in good lyuyng and honest
conuersacion and in the ornamentes
40 of the soule, the cōmon buenes ar pain-
ted vp, to please manye mennes eies
we ar trīme ynough yf we please our
husbands only. xan. But yet my good
man so euyll wylling to bestow ought
45 vpon his wyfe, maketh good chere,
and lassheth out the dowrye that hee
hadde with mee no small pot of wine.
Eulaly, where vpon? xantipha, wher-
on hym lykethe beste, at the tauerne,
50 at the stewes, and at the dyce. Eulalia

Peace

Peace saye not so. xan. wel yet thus it
is, then when he cōmeth home to me
at midnight, longe watched for, he ly-
eth rowtyng lyke a sloyne all the leue
longe nyght, yea and now and thē he 55
all bespeweth his bed, and worse then
J will say at this tyme, Eulali. Peace
thou dyshonesteth thy self, when thou
doest dishonesteth thy husbād. xantip.
The deuyl take me bodye and bones 60
but J had leuer lye by a sow with pig-
ges, then with suche a bedfelowe. Eu-
lali. Doest thou not then take him vp,
wel fauoredly for stūbling. xantip. As
he deserueth J spare no tonge. Eulali 65
a. what doth he thē. xantip. At the first
breake he toke me vp vengeably, tru-
sting that he shoulde haue shakē me of
and put me to scilence with his crabid
wordes. Eula Came neuer your hote 70
wordes vnto hād strokes. xantip. On
a tyme we fel so farre at wordes y^t we
wer almost by y^e eares together. Eula
what say you womā; xan. He toke vp
a staffe wandryng at me, as the deuill 75
hadde

had bene on hym ready to laye me on
the bones. Eula. were thou not redye
to ron in at the bēch hole. xanti. Nay
mary J warrant the. J gat me a thre
80 foted stole in hand, & he had but ones
layd his littell finger on me, he shulde
not haue founde me lame. J woulde
haue holden his nose to the grindstōe
Eulalia. A newe found shelde, ye wan
85 ted but youre dystaffe to haue made
you a speare. xantip. And he shoulde
not greatlye a laughed at his parte.
Eulali Ah my frynde. xantypa. that
way is neither good nor godli, xantip
90 pa what is neither good nor godly. yf
he wyll not vse me, as hys wyfe : J wil
not take him for my husbande. Eula-
lya. But Paule sayeth that wyues
shoulde bee boner and buxume vnto
95 their husbandes with all humylytye,
and Peter also bryngethe vs an ex-
ample of Sara, that called her hus-
bande Abrahame, Lorde. xantippa. J
know that as well as you thē y^e same
100 paule say that men shoulde loue theyr
wyues

wyues, as Christ loued his spouse the
churche let him do his duete J wil do
myne. Eula. But for all that, when the
matter is so farre that the one muste
forber the other it is reason that the 105
woman giue place vnto the man, xan.
Js he meete to be called my husbāde
that maketh me his vnderlynge and
his dryuel? Eula. But tel me dame xā
tip. Would he neuer offre the stripes 110
after that xātip. Not a stripe, and ther
in he was the wyser man for & he had
he should haue repented euery vayne
in hys harte. Eulali. But thou offered
him foule wordes plentie, xantip. And 115
will do. Eula. What doth he y^e meane
seasō. xantip. What doth he sometye
he cowcheth an hogeshed, sometime he
doth nothing but stande and laughe
at me, other whyle takethe hys Lute 120
wheron is scarslie three strynges lay-
enge on that as fast as he may dryue
because he would not here me. Eula.
Doeth that greue thee? xantippa. To
beyondehome, manie a tyme J haue 125

¶ iii much

much a do to hold my handes. Eula.
Neighbour. xantip. wylt thou gyue
me leaue to be playn with the. xantip-
pa Good leaue haue you. Eula. Be as
130 bolde on me agayne our olde acqnayn
taunce and amite, euen fro our chyl-
hode, would it should be so. xantippa.
Trueth you saie, there was neuer wo
man kinde that J fauoured more Ela
135 ly Whatsoeuer thy husbād be, marke
well this, chaunge thou canst not, Jn
the olde lawe, where the deuill hadde
cast aboone betwene the man and the
wife, at the worste waye they myght
140 be deuorsed, but now that remedie is
past, euē till death depart you he must
nedes be thy husbande, and thou hys
wyfe, xan. JI mote they thryue & thei
that taken away that liberty from vs
145 Eulalia. Beware what thou sayest, it
was christes act. Xā. J can euil beleue
that Eula. Jt is none otherwyse, now
it is beste that eyther of you one be-
yng with an other, ye laboure to liue
150 at reste and peace. xantypa. Why?
can

can J forgeue him a new. Eu. Jt lieth
great parte in the womē, for the orde
ringe of theyr husbandes. xan. Lea-
dest thou a mery life with thine. Eula
Now all is well. xan. Ergo ther was 155
somwhat to do at your fyrste metyng
Eula. Neuer no greate busynes, but
yet as it, happeneth now and than be
twene man & womā, there was foule
cloudes a loft, that might haue made 160
a storme but that they were ouer blo-
wen with good humanitie and wyse
handlynge. Euery man hath hys ma-
ner and euery mā hath his seueral ap-
tite or mynde, and thinkes hys owne 165
way best, & yf we list not to lie there li-
ueth no mā without faulte, which yf a
nie were elles, ywis in wedlocke they
ought to know and not vtterly hated
xan, you say well. Eulalya. Jt happe- 170
neth many times that loue dayes bre-
keth betwene man and wife, before ye
one be perfityly knowē vnto the other
beware of that in any wise, for when
malice is ones begon, loue is but ba- 175
rely

rely redressed agayne, namelye, yf the
mater grow furthe vnto bytter chec-
kes, & shamfull raylinges such things
as are fastened with glew, yf a manne
180 wyll all to shake them strayght waye
whyle the glew is warme, they soone
fal in peces, but after y^e glewe is ones
dried vp they cleue together fo fast as
anie thing, wherfore at the beginning
185 a meanes must be made, that loue mai
encrease and be made sure betwene y^e
man & the wife, & that is best brought
about by gentilnesse and fayre condy-
cions, for the loue that beautie onelie
190 causeth, is in a maner but a cheri faire
Xan. But J praye you hartelye tell
me, by what pollycy ye brought your
good man to folow your daunce. Eu-
la. J wyll tell you on this condicyon,
195 that ye will folowe me. xan. J can. Eu-
la, Jt is as easy as water yf ye cā find
in your hart to do it, nor yet no good
time past for he is a yong mā, and you
ar but agirle of age, and J trowe it is
200 not a yere ful sins ye wer married. Xā.

All

All thys is true Eulalia. J wyll shew
you then. But you must kepe it secret
xantip. with a ryght good wyl. Eula.
This was my chyefe care, to kepe me
alwayes in my housbandes fauoure, 205
that there shulde nothyng angre him
J obserued his appetite and pleasure
J marked the tymes bothe whan he
woulde be pleased and when he wold
be all byshrwd, as they tameth the 210
Elephantes and Lyons or suche beas-
tes that can not be wonne by strēgh
xantypa. Suche a beaste haue J at
home. Eula. Thei that goth vnto the
Elephantes weare no white garmen 215
tes, nor they that tame wylde bulles,
weare no blasyng reedes, for experi-
ence teacheth, that suche beastes bee
madde with those colours, like as the
Tygers by the sounde of tumbrels be 220
made so wode, that thei plucke theym
self in peces. Also thei y^t breake horses
haue their termes and theyr soundes
theyr hadlynges, and other knackes
to breake their wyldnes, wyth all. 225

How

Howe much more then is it oure due
tyes that ye wyues to vse suche craf-
tes toward our husbandes with whō
all our lyfe tyme wil we, nyl we is one
230 house, and one bed. xantip. Furthwith
your tale. Eula, whē J had ones mar-
ked there thynges. J applied my selfe
vnto hym, well ware not to displease
hym. xantip. How could thou do that.
235 Eulalya. Fyrste in the ouerseynge my
householde, which is the very charge
and cure of wyues, J wayted euer,
not onely gyuyng hede that nothing
shoulde be forgotten or vndoone, but
240 that althynges shoulde as he woulde
haue it, wer it euer so small a trifle. xā
wherin. Eulalia. As thus. Yf mi good
man had a fantasye to this thyng, or
to that thyng, or if he would haue his
245 meate dressed on this fashion, or that
fashion. xan. But howe couldest thou
fashyon thye selfe after hys wyll and
mynde, that eyther woulde not be at
home, or elles be as fresshe as a saulte
250 heryng. Elali. Abyde a while. J come
not

not at that yet, yf my husband wer ve
ry sad at anye tyme, no time to speake
to him. J laughed not nor tryffled him
as many a woman doth, but J looked
ruffully and heauyly, for as a glasse (if 255
it be a true stone) representeth euer ye
physnamy of hym that loketh in it, so
lykewyse it becommeth a wedded wo
man alway to agre vnto the appetite
of her husbande, that she be not mery 260
whē he murneth, nor dysposed to play
whē he is sad. And if that at any time
he be waiward shrewshaken, either J
pacyfye hym with faire wordes, or J
let hym alone, vntyll the wynde be o- 265
uerblowen gyuing him neuer a word
at al, vntyl the time come that J may
eyther excuse my faute, or tell hym of
hys. Jn lykewyse when he commeth
home wel whited, J gyue hym gen- 270
tyll and fayre woordes, so with fayre
entreatynge J gette hym to bed. xan-
typpa, O carefull state of wyues, whē
they muste be gladde and fayne to fol-
lowe their husbandes mindes, be thei 275
eluyshē

eluyſhe, dronken, or doying what myſ-
chiefe they liſte. Eula. As whoe ſaieth
this gentill dealyng ſerueth not for
bothe partyes, for they ſpyte of theyr
280 berdes muſte ſuffre many thynges in
our demeanor, yet a time ther is, whē
in a weighty matter it is laufull that
the wyfe tell the good mā his faute, if
that it be matter of ſubſtaunce, for at
285 lyght trifles, it is beſt to play byll vn-
der wyng. xantyp. what time is that
Eula. when he is ydle, neither angry,
pensife, nor ouerſen, then betwixt you
two ſecretly he muſt be told his faute
290 gētly, or rather intreated, that in this
thyng or that he play the better huſ-
bande, to loke better to his good na-
me and fame and to his helth and this
tellyng muſt be myxt with mery con-
295 ceites and pleaſaunt wordes many ti-
mes J make a meane to tel my tale af-
ter this faſhyon, that he ſhall promiſe
me, hee ſhal take no diſpleaſure wyth
my thyng, that J a foolyſhe woman
300 ſhall breake vnto hym, that pertay-
neth

neth eyther to hys helthe worshyppe
or welth. When J haue sayde that J
woulde, J chop cleane from that com-
munication and falle into some other
pastime, for this is all oure fautes, 305
neyghbour Xantippa, that whē we be
gyn ones to chat our tounge neuer
lie. Xantip. So men say Eulalia.
Thus was J well ware on, that J ne
uer tell my husbād his fautes before 310
companie, nor J neuer caried any cō-
playnte furthe a dores: the mendes is
soner made whē none knoweth it but
two, and there were anie suche faute
that myght not be wel borne nor amē 315
ded by y^e wyues tellige, it is more lau-
dable that the wife make complaynte
vnto the Parentes and kynsfolke of
her husband, then vnto her own, and
so to moderate her complaynte that 320
she seme not to hate hym but hys vice
nor let her play all the blabbe, that in
some poynt vnuterred, he may know &
loue his wiues curteysy. Xantip. She
had nede be aswel lerned womā, that 325
should

should do all this. Eu. Mary through
suche demeanoure, we shall sterre our
husbādes vnto lyke gentylnesse. Xan :
There be some that cannot be amen-
330 ded with all the gentyll handlynge in
the worlde. Eula, In faith J thyncke
nay, but case there be, marke this wel
the good man must be for borne, howe
soeuer the game goeth, then is it bet-
335 ter to haue him alwayes at one point
or ells more kinde and louing throw
oure gentill handlinge, then to haue
him worse and worse throwe our cur-
sednesse, what wyll you say and J tell
340 you of husbādes that hath won theyr
wiues by suche curtesie, howe muche
more are we boūde to vse the same to
warde our husbandes. Xantip. Than
shall you tell of one farre vnlyke vnto
345 thyne husband. Eula. J am aquented
with a certayne gentelman well ler-
ned and a veri honest man, he married
a yonge wyfe, a mayden of. xvii. yeare
olde brede and brought vp of a chylde
350 in the countre vnder her fathers and
mothers

mother wing (as gentilmen delite to
dwel in the countre) to hunt & hawke
This yong gētilman would haue one
that were vnbrokē, because he might
the soner breake her after hys owne 355
mind, he begā to entre her in learning
syngynge, and playinge, and by lytle
and lytle to vse here to repete suche
thynges as she harde at sermons, and
to instruct her with other things that 360
myght haue doone her more good in
time to come. This gere, because it
was straūge vnto this young womā
which at home was brought vp in all
ydelnesse, and with the light commu- 365
nication of her Fathers seruauntes,
and other pastimes, begā to waxe gre
uouse & paynfull, vnto her. She with
drew her good mynde and dylygence
and whē her husband called vpon her 370
she put y^e finger in the eye, and wepte
and many times she would fal downe
on the grounde, beatynge her head a-
gaynst the floure, as one that woulde
be out of thys worlde. When there 375

B was

was no healpe for this gere, the good
man as though he hadde bene wel as-
ked his wyfe yf she woulde ryde into
the countre with him a sporting vnto
380 her fathers house, so that she graun-
ted anone. When they were cōmē thy
ther, the gentilman left his wyfe with
her mother & her sisters he wēt furth
an huntynge with his father in lawe,
385 there betwene theym two, he shewed
al together, how that he hadde hoped
to haue had a louynge companion to
lead his lyfe withall, now he hath one
that is alwaies blubberynge and py-
390 ninge her selfe awaye withoute anye
remedie, he prayeth him to lay to hys
hande in amendinge his doughters
fautes her father answered y^t he had
ones giuen hym his doughter, and yf
395 that she woulde not be rewled by wor-
des (a goddes name take Stafforde
lawe) she was his owne. Then the gē-
tylman sayd agayne, J knowe that J
may do but J had leuer haue her amē-
400 ded eyther by youre good counsell or
commaun

commaundement, then to come vnto
that extreme waies, her father promi
sed that he woulde fynde a remedye,
After a dai or two, he espied time and
place whē be might be alone with his 405
doughter. Then he loked soureli vpō
his doughter, as though he had bene
horne woode with her, he began to re
herse how foule a beaste she was, how
he feared many tymes that she neuer 410
haue bestowed her. And yet sayde he
muche a doe, vnto my great coste and
charg, J haue gottē the one that mou
ghte lye by any Ladyes syde, and she
were a quene and yet thou not persei 415
uynge what J haue done for the nor
knowynge that thou hast suche a man
whiche but of his goodnes myghte
thyncke thee to euill to be stoye in his
kytchen, thou contrariest al his mind 420
to make a short tale he spake so sharpe
ly to her, that she feared that he wold
haue beaten her. Jt is a man of asub
tyll and wyllye wytte, whyche wyth
out a vysarde is readye to playe anye 425

B ii maner

maner of parte. Thē this yonge wife
what for feare, and for trouthe of the
matter, cleane stryken oute of counte
nauunce, fell downe at her fathers fete
430 desyryng hym that he wolde forgette
and forgiue her all that was past and
euer after she woulde doe her duetye
Her father forgaue her, and promised
that she shoulde finde him a kynd and
435 a louynge father, yf so be that she per-
fourmed her promyse. xantippa. How
dyd she afterwarde? Eulalya, whē she
was departed frō her father she came
backe into a chaumber, and there by
440 chaunce found her husband alone she
fel on her knees to hym and said. Mā
in tymes paste, J neyther knewe you
nor my selfe, from this daye froward
ye shall se me cleane chaunged, onelye
445 pardon that is past, with that her hus-
bande toke her in his armes & kyssed
her sayinge she should lacke nothyng
yf she woulde holde her in that mind.
xantip. Why did she cōtinue so. Eula-
450 lya. Euen tyll her endynge daye, nor
there

there was none so vyle a thyng but
that she woulde laye handes on it re-
dely with all her herte, if her husband
wolde let her, so great loue was begō
and assured betwene them and many 455
a daye after, shee thanked god y^t euer
she met with such a mā. For yf she had
not she sayd she had ben cleane caste a
waye. xan. We haue as greate plentie
of suche housbandes, as of white cro- 460
wes. Eulalya. Now, but for werieng
you? J coulde tell you a thyng that
chaunsed a late in this same citye. xan
typpa. J haue litell to doe, and J lyke
your communicacyon very well. 465
Eulalia. There was a certaine gentilmā
he as suche sort of men do, vsed much
huntyng in the cuntre, where he hap-
pened on a younge damoyzell, a very
pore womās child on whō he doted a 470
man well stryken in age, and for her
sake he lay oftē out of his owne house
his excuse was hūtig. This mās wife
an exceding honest womā, halfe deale
suspecte the mater, tried out her hus- 475

B iij . bandes

bandes falshed, on a tyme whē he had
taken his iourney fourth of the town
vnto some other waies, she wente vn
to that poore cotage and boulded out
480 all the hoole matter, where he laye on
nights, wheron he drāke, what thyng
thei had to welcō him withall. There
was neither one thyng nor other, but
bare walles. This good womā retur
485 ned home, and sone after came againe
brynginge w^t her a good soft bed, and
al therto belongyng and certain plate
besydes that she gaue them moneye,
charynge them that if the Gentilmā
490 came agayne, they shold entreate hīm
better not beyng knowē al this while
that she was his wyfe, but fayued her
tobe her sister. Not long after her hus
band stale thether againe, he sawe the
495 howse otherwyse decked, and better
fare then he was wounte to haue. He
asked, frome whence commeth al this
goodly gere? They sayde that an ho-
neste matrone, a kynsewoman of hys
500 hadde broughte it thyther and com-
maunded

maunded them that he should be well
cherished when so euer he came, by
and by his hart gaue him that it was
hys wiues dede, whan he came home
he demaūded of her yf she hadde bene 505
there or nay, she sayd yea. Then he as-
ked her for what purpose she sente all
that housholde stuffe thyther. Man
(said she) ye haue bē tenderly brought
vp J perceiued that ye were but cors- 510
lie handled there, me thought that it
was my part, seing it was your wyll
and pleasure to be there ye shoulde
be better lokēd to. Xantippa. She
was one of goddes fooles. J woulde 515
rather for a bed haue layd vnder him
a bundel of nettels : or a burden of thi
stels. Eula. But here the end her hus-
bande perceyuyng the honeste of her
great pacience neuer after laye from 520
her, but made good cheare at home
with his owne. J am sure y e knowe
Gilberte the holāder. xan. Uery well.
Eu. He (as it is not vnknowē married
an old wife in his florishīg youth. Xā. 525

B iiii

Per

aduētūre he married the good and not
the woman. Eulalia. There sayde ye
well, setting lytell stoore by hys olde
wife, hunted a callette, with whom he
530 kept much companie abrode, he dined
or supped litell at home. What wouldest thou haue sayd to y^t gere. Xantip.
What woulde J a said? J wolde haue
flowē to the hores toppe and J wolde
535 haue crowned myne husbaude at hys
oute goinge to her with a pysbowle,
that he so ēbawmed might haue gon
vnto his souerayne ladie. Eula. But
how much wiselier dyd this woman?
540 she desyred that yonge woman home
vnto her, and made her good chere, so
by that meanes she brought home al-
so her husband without ani witchcraft
or sorserie, and yf that at anye season
545 he supped abrode with her, she would
sende vnto them some good dayntie
morsel, and byd him make good chere
Xantippa. J had leuer be slayne then
J woulde be bawde vnto myne owne
550 husbande. Eulalia. Yea, but consyder
all

all thynges well, was not that muche
better, then she shoulde be her shre-
wyshnesse, haue putte her husbandes
minde cleane of from her, and so haue
ledde all her life in trouble and heuy- 555
nesse. Xantippa. J graunte you well,
that it was better so but J coulde not
abyde it. Eulalya. J wyll tell you a
prety story more, and so make an ende
One of oure neyghboures, a well dis- 560
posed and a goddes man, but that he
is some what testie, on a day pomeld
his wife well and thriftely aboute the
pate and so good a woman as euer
was borne, she picked her into a inner 565
parler, and there weepyng and sob-
byng, eased her heuye harte, anone
after, by chaunce her husbande came
into the same place, and founde hys
wyfe wepyng. What sitest thou heare 570
sayth he seighing & sobbīg like a child
Thē she like a wise woman sayde. Js
it not more honesty for me to lamente
my dolours here in a secret place, thē
to make wondering and on oute crye 575
in

in the strete, as other womē do. At so
wysely and womanly a saing his hart
melted, promysynge her faythfullye
and truelie that he woulde neuer laye
580 stroke on her afterwarde, nor neuer
did. Xantippa. No more wil mine god
thanke my selfe. Eulalya. But then ye
are alwaies one at a nother, agreinge
lyke dogges and cattes. Xan. What
585 wouldest thou that J should do? Eu.
Fyrst and formest, whatsoeuer thy hus-
bande doeth sayde thou nothings, for
his harte must be wonne by lytell and
litel by fayre meanes, gentilnesse and
590 forbearing, at the last thou shalte ey-
ther wyne him or at the leaste waie
thou shalt leade a better life thē thou
doest now. Xantippa. He his beyonde
goddess forbode, he wil neuer amende
595 Eulalia. Eye saye not so, there is no
beest so wild but by fayre handling be
tamed, neuer mistrust man thē. Assay
a moneth or two, blame me and thou
findest not that my counsell dooeth
600 ease. There be some fautes wyth you
though

thoughe thou se them, be wyse of this
especyall that thou neuer gyue hym
foule wordes in the chambre, or inbed
but be sure that all thynges there bee
full of pastyme and pleasure. For yf
that place which is ordeined to make
amēdes for all fautes and so to renew
loue, be polluted, eyther with strife or
grugynges, then fayre wel al hope of
loue daies, or atonementes, yet there
be some beastes so wayward and mis-
cheuous, that when theyr hufbandes
hath them in their armes a bed, they
scholde & chyde making y^e same plesur
their lewd condicions (that expelseth
all displeasures oute of their husban-
des mynde vnpleasaunt and lytell set
bi corrupting the medecine that shuld
have cured al deadly greifes, & odible
offēces. xantip. That is no newes to
me. Eula. Though the woman shulde
be well ware and wyse that she shulde
neuer be disobedient vnto her husbād
yet she ought to be most circūspect y^t at
that

625 that at meting she shew her selfe redy
and pleasaunt vnto him. xantypa.
Yea vnto a man, holde well withall
but J am combred with a beast. Eula.
No more of those wordes, most com
630 monly our husbādes ar euyl through
our owne faute, but to returne againe
vnto our taile they that ar sene in the
olde fables of Poetes sai that Uenus
whome they make chiefe lady of wed
635 locke (hath a girdle made by the han-
dy worke of Uulcan her Lorde, and
in that is thrust al that enforceth loue
and with that she girdeth her whan
so euer she lyeth wyth her housbande
640 xantippa. A tale of a tubbe. Eulalya.
A taylor it is, but herkē what the taile
meaneth. xantippa. Tell me. Eulalia
That techeth vs that the wyfe ought
to dyspose her selfe all that she maye
645 that lieng by her husbād she shew him
al the plesure that she cā. Wherby the
honest loue of matrimony may reuiue
and be renewed, & that there with be
clene dispatched al grudges & malice
xan.

xant. But how shall we come by thys 650
gyrdle? Eula. We nede neyther wyt-
chraft nor enchauntment, ther is non
of them al, so sure as honest condiciōs
accompayned with good feloshyp. xan
J can not faouere suche an husbande 655
as myne is. Eula, Jt is moste thy pro-
fyt that he be no longer suche. Jf thou
coudest by thy Circes craft chaunge
thin husband into an hogge, or a bore
wouldest thou do it? xantip. God kno 660
weth. Eu. Art thou in dout? haddest
thou leauer marye an hogge than a
mā, xantip. Mary J had leauer haue
a manne, Eulalia. wel, what and thou
coudest by sorcery make him of a drō 665
karde a soober man, of a vnthrifte a
good housbande of an ydell losell a to-
warde body, woldest thou not doe it?
xantip. yes, hardely, woulde J doe it.
But where shoulde J learne the cun- 670
nyng? Eula. For soth that cōning hast
thou in the if thou wouldest vtter it,
thyn must he be, mauger thy head, the
toward y^e makest him, the better it is
for

675 for the, thou lokest on nothing but on
his leude cōdicions, and thei make the
half mad, thou wouldest amende hym
and thou putttest hym farther oute of
frame, loke rather on his good condi-
680 cions, and so shalt thou make him bet-
ter. Jt is to late calagayne yesterdaie
before thou were maryed vnto hym.
Jt was tyme to cōsyder what his fau-
tes were, for a woman shold not only
685 take her husbande by the eyes but by
the eares. Now it is more tyme to re-
dresse fautes thē to fynd fautes. xanti.
What woman euer toke her gusband
by the eares. Eulali. She taketh her
690 husbande by the eyes that loketh on
nothyng, but on the beautye and pul-
critude of the body. She taketh him
by the eares, that harkeneth diligētly
what the common voice sayth by him
695 xantip. Thy counsaile is good, but it
commeth a day after the faire. Eula.
Yet it commeth time ynough to brin-
ge thyne husbande to a greate furthe-
raunce to that shall bee yf God sende
you

you anie frute together. xantippa. We 700
are spede alreedy of that. Eulaly. How
longe ago. Xantip. A good whyle ago
Eulalia. How many monethes old is
it. Xantip. Jt lacketh lytle of. vii. Eula
What a tale is this, ye reken the mo- 705
nethes by nightes and dayes double.
xantippa. Not so. Eula. Jt can not be
none otherwyse, yf ye reken from the
mariage day. xantippa. yea, but what
thē, J spake with him before we were 710
maried. Eulalia. Be children gotten
by speakeinge. xantip. Jt befell so that
he mette me alone and begon to ticke
at me, and tickled me vnder the arme
holes and sydes to make me laugh. J 715
might not awaie with ticklynge, but
fell downe backewarde vpon a bedde
and he a lofte, neuer leuinge kyssynge
on me, what he did els J can not saye,
but by sayncte Marie within a while 720
after my bely beganne to swell. Eula.
Go now and disprayse thyne husbāde
whiche yf he gette children by playe,
what wyll he do whē he goeth to it in
good

- 725 good earnest. xantippa, J fere me J am
payed agayin. Eula. Good locke God
hath sent a fruitfull grounde, a good
tylmā. xantip. Jn that thing he might
haue lesse laboure and more thanke.
- 730 Eula. Few wyues finde at theyr hus-
bandes in that behalf but were ye thē
sure together. xanti. yea that we were
Eula. The offence is the lesse. Js it a
man chylde. xantip. yea. Eula. He shal
735 make you at one so that ye wil bow &
forbere. What saieth other mē by thin
husband, they that be his cōpanions,
they delite with him abroad xā. They
say that he is meruelous gentyl, redy
740 to do euery man pleasure, liberal and
sure to his frende. Eula. And that put
teth me in good cōfort that he wyll be
ruled after our counsayll. xantip. But
J fynde him not so. Eula. Order thy
745 selfe to him as J haue tolde thee, and
cal me no more true sayer but a lier, if
he be not so good vnto the as to anie
creature liuinge Agayne cōsidre this
he is yet but a childe, J thinke he pas-
seth

sethe not .xxiiij. the blacke oxe neuer 750
trode on hys fote, nowe it is but loste
laboure to reckon vpon anye deuorse.
xantippa. Yet manye a tyme and ofte
J haue troubled my braynes with al
Eulalia. As for that fantasye whenso 755
euer it commeth into your mynd first
of all counte how naked a thyng a wo
man is, deuorsed from man. It is the
hyghest dignitie that longethe to the
wyfe to obsequyous vnto her spouse. 760
So hath nature ordeined so god hath
apoynted, that the woman shoulde be
ruled al by the man loke onely vppon
this whiche is trouth, thine husbände
he is, other canste thou none haue. A- 765
gaine forgette not that swete babe be
gotten of both your bodies what thin
keste thou to do with that, wylte thou
take it awaye with thee? Thou shalte
berene thyne husband his ryghtwylt 770
thou leue it with hym? thou shalt spoi
le thy self of thy chefeste Jewell thou
haste. Beside all this tell mee trueth
hast thou none euyl wyllers. Besyde

¶ i all

775 all thys tell me trueth, hast thou none
euyll wyllers. xan. J haue a stepdame
J warrant you, and myne husbandes
mother euen such another. Eula. Do
they hate the so deadly. xantip. They
780 woulde se me hanged. Eula. Thē for-
get not thē, what greater plesure coul-
dest thou shew them then to se the de-
uorsed from thine husband and to led
a wydowes lyfe. Yea and worse thē a
785 wydow, for wydowes be at their choi-
se. xantippa. J holde well with youre
coußsell, but J can not awaye wyth the
paynes, Eulalia. yet reckon what pai-
nes ye toke or ye colde teache your pa-
790 ret to speake. xantippa. Exceedynge
much. Eu. And thinke you much to la-
bour a lytel in reforming your husbād
with whō you may liue merely all the
dayes of your lyfe? What busines doe
795 mē put thē self tobe wel & easily horsed
& shal we think our selues to good to
take paines that we mai haue our hus-
bādes gētil & curteise vnto vs. xantip
What shal J do. Eu. J haue told you
all

al redy, se that al thing be clene & trim 800
at home, that no sluttyshe or vnclenlye
syghtes dryue hym oute a dores. Be
your selfe alwayes redy at a becke, be
rynge continuall in minde what reue
reçe the wife oweth vnto her husbād. 805
Be neyther in your dūpes, nor alway
es on your mery pinnes go nether to
homely nor to nycely. Let your meat
be cleane dressed, you know your hus-
bādes diet. What he loueth best that 810
dresse. Moreouer shewe your selfe lo-
uinge and fayre spokē vnto thē where
he loueth, call them now and thē vn-
to your table. At meate, se that al thin-
ges be well fauored, and make good 815
chere, And whē that he is toppe heuy
playing on his lute, sytte thou by and
sing to him so shalte thou make hym
keepe home, and lessen hys expences
This shall he thynke at length, in fay- 820
the J am a fonde felowe that maketh
suche chere with a strumpet abroode
with greate lossee bothe of substance
and name, seyng that J haue a wyfe

¶ ii at

825 at home bothe muche fayrer, and one
that loueth me ten times better, with
whome J may be both clenlyer recei-
ued and dayntelier cherissed. xantip.
Beleuest thou that it will take and J
830 put it into a profe. Eulali. Looke on
me. J warrante it or ought longe J
wyll in hande with thyne husbnde, &
J will tell hym his parte. xantippa. ye
marie that is well sayde. But be wyse
835 that he espie not our caste, he would
playe his fages, all the house should be
to lytle for hym. Eulalia. Take no
thought. J shall so conuey my mat-
ters, that he shall dysclose all toge-
840 ther hym selfe, what busynesse is be-
twene you, that done J wyll handell
him pretelie as J thinke beste, and J
truste to make him a new man for the
and when J se my time J wyl make a
845 lie for thee, how louinge thou hast spo-
ken of him xantippa. Chryst spede vs
and bringe our pupose well aboute.
Eulalia. He will not fayle the so thou
do thy good wyll

There

THere was a man that married a 850
woman whiche hadde great ri-
ches and beawtye. Howe bee it
she hadde suche an impedymēt of na-
ture that she was domme and coulede
not speake, whiche thyng made him 855
ryghte pensyfe, and sayd, wherfore v-
pon a daye as he walked alone ryght
heuye in hearte thynkyng vpon his
wyfe. There came one to hym and as-
ked him what was the cause of his he 860
uynesse whiche answered that it was
onely bycause his wife was borne dō
me. To whome this other said J shal
shewe the soone a remedy and a medi-
cyne (therfore that is thus) go tak an 865
aspen leafe and lay it vnder her tōge
this night shee beinge a sleape, and J
warrant the that shee shall speake on
the morowe whiche man beyng glad
of thys medycyne prepared therfore 870
and gathered aspen leaues, wherfore
he layd thre of them vnder her tonge
whan shee was a sleape. And on the

¶ iii morow

morow when he him selfe awaked, he
875 desyrous to know how hys medicine
wrought being in bed with her, he de-
maunded of her how she did, and sodē
ly she answered and sayd, J beshrewe
thy harte for waking me so early, and
880 so by the vertue of that medycyne she
was restored to her speche. But in cō
clusion her spech encresed day by day
and she was so curst of cōdycyon that
euery daie she brauled and chyd with
885 her husbande, so muche at the laste he
was more vexed, and had much more
trouble and disease wyth her shrewed
wordes then he hadde before whē she
was dumme, wherfore as he walked
890 another time alone he happened to
mete agayne with the same personne
that taught hym the sayde medycine
and sayde to hym thys wyse. Syr ye
taught me a medicin but late to make
895 my domme wyfe to speake, byddyng
me lay an Aspen leafe vnder her toug
when she sleapte, and J layde three
Aspen leaues there. Wherfore now
she

she speaketh. But yet she speaketh soo
much & so shrewdlye that J am more 900
werier of her now, then J was when
she was dōme : Wherfore J praie you
teache me a medycine to modyfye her
that she speake not so muche. This o-
ther answered and sayd thus. Sir J 905
am a deuyl of hel, but J am one of the
that haue least power there. Al be yet
J haue power to make a womā to spe-
ke, but and yf a woman begin ones to
speake, J nor al the deuyls in hel that 910
haue the mooste power be not able to
make a woman to be styll, nor to cause
her to leue her speakyng.

¶ The end of this pleasant dialogue
declaryng the seuerall properties of y^e
two contrary disposers of the tynnes
aforesande.

¶ Imprinted at London in Paules
churche nearde, at the signe of
the Sunne, by Anthon
Kytson.

921

III

PEREGRINATIO

RELIGIONIS

ERGO

Y° PYLGREMAGE OF

PURE DEUOTYON



Effigiem Desiderij tui Sculptor L. G. P.
Exprimit; Invenit; scripta deserta suam



A Dialogue

of communication of
two persons, deuysyd
and sett forth in the la-
te tonge, by the noble
and famose clarke.

Desiderius Erasmus

intituled y py-
gremage of
pure de-
uoty-
on.

Newly tradatyd into
Engliche.

To the reader.

Amongest the writings of all
men, dearly belouyd reader,
not onely of the diuersyte of ton-
5 gues, but also the noble drawghts
of so artificyall paynted figures,
whiche haue so lyuely expressed to y^e
quycke ymage, the nature, ordre, &
proporcyon of all states, as concer-
10 nyng the gouernaunce of a Chri-
sten comē wealthe, that ther is (as
I suppose) no parte of the scripture,
which is not so expowndyde, furnys
shed, and setforthe, but that euery
15 Christen man, therby may lerne his
dewty to god, hys prynce, and hys
nebure, and so consequently passe
thourough the straye pathe of the
whiche scripture doth testyfyē vpō,
20 very fewe can fynde y^e entrye, wher-
by thorough faythe in the redēpty-
on of the worlde thorowe y^e bloode
of Christe the sone of god, to rayne

✠ ij. with

with the father and the holy goste
eternally, accordynge to the pro- 25
myse of Christe, sayinge. Jn my fa-
thers hawse therbe many placys
to dwell in, we wyll come to hym
and make a mansyon place with
hym and J haue and shall open thy 30
name vnto them, that the same lo-
ue with the whiche thou louydest
me, may be in theym, and J in the,
and thys is the kyngdome of god
so often mouyd to vs in holy scrip- 35
ture, whiche all faythfull shall pos-
sesse and inheret for euermore : whe-
re as y^e vnfaythfull, vnryghtswye,
and synner shall not entre in to the
kyngdome of god, bycause, of chaū- 40
gynge the glory of gode immortall
in to the ymage of a corruptyble
man, and therfore so lncentionously
he hathe suffrede them to wandre
in theyr clowdes of ygnoraunce, 45
preferryng the lyes and corrupte
iudgmentes

iudgmentes of man the veryte and
the truthe of god, rather seruyng
the creature then the creator, a-
mongest all the parties of the whi-
che (as was spoken at the begyn-
nyng) thys alwaye not alonely in
the newe law, but also in the olde
Testament was as a thyng moost
abhomynable and displesant in the
sight of gode prohybyte and for-
byden : but our nature whiche hath
in hym, the dampnable repugnaū-
ce of synne agaynst the omnypotēt
power of gode, left euyn frome owre
fyrst father Adam, is so enclyned to
vyces, amongst the whiche it hath
not gyuen the least parte to thys
desperate synne of ydolatrie, a-
gaynst the immaculate, and feare-
full commandement of god. Thou
shalt haue no straunge Gods in my
syght, that it is sore to be dreadde
the same iudgement to be gyuyn

✠ iii. vpon

vpon vs that was gyuen vpon the 70
cytye of Ninyue to be absorped of
the yerthe in to the yre and venge.
annce of gode, whiche hathe ben
the cause that so many wryters
bothe of late dayes, and many ye- 75
res passede, haue euyng to deathe,
resisted thes dampnable bolsterers
of ydolatrie, gyuen theyr selues to
the crosse in example of reformacy-
on to theyr bretherne, bothe in 80
wrytinge and cownsell, exhortynge
the flocke of Christe frome soche
prophane doctryne, amongst who-
me the noble and famouse clerke
Desiderius Erasmus hath setforthe to 85
the quycke ymage, before mennys
eyes, the supersticyouse worshype
and false honor gyuyn to bones,
heddes, iawes, armes, stockes, sto-
nes, shyrtes, smokes, cotes, cappes, 90
hattes, shoes, mytres, slyppers, sad-
les, rynges, bedes, gyrdles, bolles,
belles,

belles, bokes, gloues, ropes, tapes,
res, candelles, bootes, sporres (my
95 breath was almost past me) with
many other soche dampnable allu-
syones of the deuylle to use theme
as goddes contrary to the imma-
culate scripture of gode, morouer
100 he notethe as it were of arrogan-
cye the pryuate iudgmegt of cer-
tayne that of theyr owne brayne
wolde cast out ymages of the tem-
ple, with out a comen consent and
105 authoryte, some there be that al-
way seke halowes, and go vpon
pylgramages vnder a pretense of
holynes, whervpon thes brother-
hodes and systerhoodes be now in-
110 uented, morouer they that haue
ben at Hierusalem be called knigh-
tes of the sepulcre, and call one an
other bretherne, and vpon palme-
sondaye they play the foles sadely,
115 drawynge after them an asse in a

✠ iiij. rope,

rope, when they be not moche distant frome the woden asse that they drawe. The same do they conterfayte that haue ben at saynt James in Compostella. But they be more pernycyouse, that setforthe vncertayn relyques, for certayne, and attrIBUTE more to them than they oughte to haue, and prostytute or sett theym forthe for fylthye lukre. But now whan they perceyue, that this theyr dāpnable ✠ Corbane dothe decay, and that theyr most to be lamented blyndnes and longe accustomed errours shuld be redressed, they, all fayre bothe of god and man set asyde, rebelle and make insurrectyones contrary to the ordynaunce of gode, agaynst theyr kynge and liege lorde, prouokynge and allurynge the symple comynaltye to theyre dampnable ypocrysye and conspyracy, myndyng

✠ A treasure
boxe of y^e
Jewes

dyng and goynge about to preuen-
140 te our most soueraigne lordes iudg-
ment, not yet gyuē vpon theyr So-
domiticall actes, and most horryble
ypocrysy. But the worde of the lor-
de whiche they so tyrannously go
145 aboute to suppress w^t all the faue-
rours therof shall ouercome & de-
stroy all soch most to be abhorred &
deceyuable inuegelers & dysturbers
of y^e symple people to soch detesta-
150 ble treason. And that it may so do
to the terryble example of thes and
all other rebelles and most dysloyal
subiectes, and to y^e greate comfor-
the & cōsolacyō ofh is gracys fayth-
155 full and true comens. J requyre
him which brethethe where he wil-
lithe and raygnethe eternall gode
to graūt vnto our seyde most drad-
de soueraygne lorde whose maiesty
160 as it euydently appereth onely ap-
plieth his diligence to the aduaun-

✠ u. syng

synge & settinge forthe of the most
holsome documenth and teachyng
of almyghty god, to the redres of
long accustome euyls and damna- 165
ble sectes, to the supportacion and
mayntenaunce of godly and allow-
able ceremonyes, to the suppres-
synge and most to be desired abo-
lishyng of the deuclishe and detesta- 170
ble vsurped aucthoryties, dampna-
ble errours and prophane abuses
brought in by that myghty Golyas,
that obdurate Phareo, that proude
Nembroth (whome god amēde) 175
the byshope of Rome, to graunte (J
say) vnto hys hyghnes, suche hys
godly ayde and assistance, that hys
grace with hys moost honorable
counsell (agaynst whome this ar- 180
rogant conspiracy is nowe moued
and begonne) may ouercome and
debelle the stud traytres as in ty-
mes paste hys maiestye hath pru-
dently

185 denly do other, that haue herto-
fore attempted to perpetrate and
brynge to passe like sedicyous mi-
shief, and so to establishe the hartes
of hys gracys true subiectes that
190 they may wyllingly and according
to theyr dueties, obey and fulfyll
hys most lawfull and godly orde-
ned lawes and commaundements
wherby they shall not onely do the
195 thyng agreable to goddes wyll &
teachynges, in y^t he willeth euery
soule to be subiected to the hygh-
er power and obedyent to theyr
prynce, but also (to theyr greate
200 laude and prayse (shall shewe them
selfe to be redy and confirmable to
do theyr dueties in aydyng hys ex-
cellent hyghnes to the reformacy-
on of all pernicious abuses & chief-
205 ly of detestable ydolatrye, whiche
is so muche prohibited in holy scri-
pture and most displeasent to god,
for

for whiche intent and purpose the
sayd most noble and famous clarke
Dsiderius Erasmus, compiled & made 210
this dialoge in Laten, as it folo-
weth hereafter nowe lately transla-
ted into our mother the Englishhe
tonge. Auoyd therfore, most deare
readere, all abuses wherby any in- 215
conuenyence may growe, other to
the hynderaunce of godes worde,
to the displeasure of thy prynce,
(whome thou arte so straytly com-
maunded to obaye, or to the doma- 220
ge of a publike weale, whiche abo-
ue all vices is noted most to be ab-
horred, not alonely of the most holy
wryteres and expownderes of scri-
pture, but also of prophane gentyl- 225
les, whiche neuer perceyuyd other
thinge than nature enclyned theyr
hartes vnto, and so consequently
to obtayne the fruytion of the god-
hode thorowe the faythe that was 230
spoken

spoken of at the begynnyng to the
whiche the lorde Jesus Chri-
ste brynge vs all with a
perfaycte quyetnes,
So be it.

235



Fol. 7 v. Y^e PYLGREMAGE

¶ A pylgremage, for pure deuocō.

M *Enedemus.* † What new[†]
 thyng ys it, that J se? doo Signi-
 J nat see *Ogygyus* my ney fieth to
 240 bur, whom nō mā could espie of all forsake.
 thes sex monthes before? yt was a
 sayng that he was deed, Jt is euen
 he, except that J be ferre deceyuyd.
 J wyll go to hym, & byd hym good
 245 morow. Good morow * *Ogygyus.* * was
 Good morow to you *Menedemus.* faynyd
Mene. J pray you frome what con- of an
 tray do you come to vs ayen so saffe. old kyn
 For here was a great comunicacyō ge of
 250 that you dyd sayle streght to hell. Theba
Ogy. No, thankyd be god, J haue nes.
 faryd as well syns J went hens, as
 euer J dyd in all my lyffe. *Me.* Well,
 255 a man may well perceyue that all
 suche rumours be but vanytye. But
 J pray you what araye is this that
 you be in, me thynke that you be
 clothyd with cokle schelles, and be

¶ laden

* Signifyeth
bedes.
Walsyn
gam ys
callyd
para
thalas-
sia by
cause
it is ny
to y^e see.

ladē on euery syde with bruches of
lead and tynne. And you be pretely 260
garnyshyd w^t wrethes of strawe &
your arme is full of * snakes egges.
Ogy. J haue bene on pylgremage
at saynt James in Compostella, &
at my retourne J dyd more relygy- 265
ously vysyte our lady of Walsyngā
in England, a very holy pylgrema-
ge, but J dyd rather vysyte her. For
J was ther before within this thre
yere. *Me.* J trowe, it was but for 270
your pleasure. *Ogy.* Nay, it was for
pure deuocyon. *Me.* J suppose you
learnyd that relygyō of the Grecy-
anes. *Ogy.* My mother in law dyd
make a vowe that if her doughter 275
shuld be delyueryd of a man chyld
alyue, than that J shuld go to saynt
James on pylgremage, and ther to
salute and thāke hym. *Me.* Dyd you
salute saynt James alonly in your 280
name, and your mothers. *Ogy.* No,
in the name of all owre house. *Me.*

Uerely

Uerely J thynke y^t your howshold
 as well shold haue prosperd, in case
 285 you had not salutyd hym at all. But
 J pray you what answer dyd he
 make to your salutacyon. *Ogy*. No-
 thyng at all. But whā J dyd offre,
 me tought he dyd lawghe vpon me,
 290 and becke at me with his hedde, &
 dyd reche to me this cokleshell. *Me*.
 Wherefore dothe he gyue rather su-
 che schelles, than other thynges.
Ogygy. For the see, whiche is nye
 295 vnto hym dothe mynystre plenty
 of suche. *Me*. O holy saynt James,
 that bothe is a mydwyffe to women
 with chylde, and also dothe helpe his
 pylgrymes. But J pray you what
 300 new kynd of makyng vowes is that
 that whan a mā is ydle he shall put
 the burden apon an other mannes
 bakke? Jn case that you doo bynd
 youre selffe with a vowe, that yf y^t
 305 matter chaunche happyly whiche
 you haue in hande, that J for you
 A ii. shall

shall fast twyse in on weke, do you
beleue y^t J can fulfyll youre vow?
Ogy. No, J doo not beleue it if that
you dyd vowe it in youre awne na- 310
me. Jt is but a sport with yow to
mokke sayntes. But this was my
mother in law, J must nedys obey
her, you know womenes affecty-
ones, & J must obaye heres. *Me.* Jf 315
that you had not perfourmyd your
vowe, what iopertye had you be in?
Ogy. J graunt, he could not haue
had an accyon ayenst me in y^t law,
but he myght fromhe nsforthe be 320
deafe to my vowes, orels pryuyly
send some calamytye or wretched-
nes amongste my housholde, yow
know well enuffe the maneres of
great men. *Me.* Tell me now what 325
that same honest mā saynt James
dothe, and howe he farythe. *Ogy.*
Moche colder thā he was wontyd
to do. *Me.* What is the cause of it?
His age? *Ogy.* Oh you scoffer, yow 330
know

know welenoghe that sayntes wax
nat olde. But this new learnynge,
whiche runnythe all the world o-
uer now a dayes, dothe cause hym
335 to be vysytyd moche lesse than he
was wontyd to be, for if any doo co-
me thay salute him alonly, but they
offre lytle or nothyng, and say that
theyr monaye may better be di-
340 sposyd amongste pore people. *Me.* O
a wykyd comunicacyon. *Ogy.* Ye &
so great an Apostle whiche was wō-
tyd to stand all in precyous stones &
gold, now stādythe all of wodde ha-
345 uyng before hym skaresly a wax
candle. *Me.* Jf it be trew that J he- ¶ Our
re, it is great ioperdy lest that same ladi of
chance to all the rest of the sayntes. stone in
Ogy. J thynk it wel, for ther is an Raura-
350 epistle abroad whiche our lady dyd chia
wryte upon the same matter. *Me.* whiche
What lady? *Ogy.* ¶ She y^t hathe is a cer
her name of a stone. *Me.* J trawe it tayne
is in Raurachia. *Ogy.* That same cuntre.

¶ iii. is

is it. *Me.* yow tell me of a stony lady, 355
 But to whome dyd she wryte? *Ogy.*
 The epistle dothe playnely shew his
 name. *Me.* By whome was it sent?
Ogy. No dowbt but by an angell,
 whiche dyd lay the wrytynges apō 360
 the aultre, wherof he prechythe to
 whome it was sent. And lest there
 shuld be any suspectyō of crafty cō-
 uayence in you, you shall se the epi-
 stle wryten w^t his owne hande. *Me.* 365
 Do you know so well the hand of
 thangell whiche is secretary to our
 lady? *Ogy.* Yee why nat? *Me.* By
 what argumēt? *Ogy.* J haue redde
 * Js a y^e * Epithaphe of Bede which was 370
 scriptu- grauyd of the angell : and the let-
 re wry- teres agre in all thynges. J haue
 ten on redde also y^e obligacyō whiche was
 a gra- sent to saynt Gyles as dothe aper.
 ue. Dothe not thes argumentes proue 375
 that mater to be good enoghe. *Me.*
 May a man loke apon them? *Ogy.*
 ye and if you wyll swere to kepe it
 preuy.

preuy. *Me.* Oh you shall speake to a
 380 stone. *Ogy.* Ther be stones now a
 dayes of that name very slawnde-
 rous, that wyll hyde nothyng. *Me.*
 you shall speake to a domme man, &
 yow trust nat a stone. *Ogy.* Apon y^t
 385 condycyon J wyll tell it, loke that
 you here with bothe youre eyares.
Me. So J doo. *Ogy.* Mary the mo- The e-
 ther of Jesu to * Glaucoplutus sē- pistle of
 dythe gretynge. Jnsomoche as you our La
 390 folowe Luther, you nobly perswa- dy.
 de, that it is but in vayne to call apō * Glau
 sayntes, do ye well know for that to coplut⁹
 be grettly in my fauore. For vntyll desirus
 thys day J haue almost be slayne w^t of ry-
 395 the importunate prayers of men. ches.
 Of me alone they askyd althynges,
 as who shuld say my sone were al-
 way a babe, because he is so faynyd
 and payntyd apō my breste, that yet
 400 he wold be at my commaundemēt
 and durst nat denye my petycyon,
 dredynge that if he denye my pety-

¶ iiii. cyon,

cyon, that J shuld denye hym my
teate whan he is a thurst : and very-
oft thay requyre that of me, whiche 405
a shamfast yongman dare scantly
aske of a Bawde, yee they be suche
thynges as J ain ashamyd to put
in wrytynge. Now comythe y^e mar-
chauntman and he redy to sayle in- 410
to Spayne for a vantage, dothe
cōmytte hys wyues honesty to me.
Than commythe thet lytle preaty
Nunne and she castythe away her
vayle redy to runne away, she leuy- 415
the with me the good name of her
vyrgynytye, whiche shortly she en-
tendythe to take monay for. Than
cryeth the wykyd soudyer purposyd 420
to robbe & saythe, blessyd lady send
me a good praye. Now cōmythe the
vnthryfty dyasser and cryethe, send
me good chance Lady & thow shalt
haue parte of my wynnynge : and
if the dyasse runne ayenst hym, he 425
blasphemes, and cursythe me, by-
cause

cause J wyll nat fauor his noghty-
nes. Now cryeth she that sellythe
her selffe for fylthye lukre & saythe,
430 swete lady send me some costomers,
& if J denye it, they exclame ayenst
me & say, thou arte not the mother
of marcy. Moreouer the vowes of
some women be no lesse wykyd thā
435 folishe. The mayd cryeth & saythe,
O swet Mary send me a fayre and
riche husbond. The maryed womā
saythe send me goodly chylderen.
Now laborythe the woman with
440 chyld, and cryeth dere lady dilyuer
me of my bondes. Than cōmythe y^t
olde wyffe, and saythe flowre of all
women send me to lyue longe with-
owt coghe and drynes. Now cre-
445 pythe the dotynge oldman & saythe,
lady send me for to wax yonge ayē.
Thā cōmythe forth the phylosopher
and cryethe send me some argumē-
tis that be isoluble. The great prest
450 cryethe send me a fat benefyce. Thā
sa ythe

saythe the bysshope kepe well my
churche. Thā cryethe y^e hye Justyce
shew me thy sone or J passe out of
this worlde. Thā saythe y^e Cowr-
tyer send me trwe confession at the 455
howre of my deathe. The husbond-
man saythe send vs temperate we-
ther. The mylke wyffe cryethe owt
blessyd lady saue our catell. Now if
J denye anythyng by & by J am 460
crwell. Jf J cōmytte it to my sone,
J here them say, he wyll what so e-
uer you wyll. Shall J than alone
bothe a woman and a mayd helpe
maryneres, sawdyeres, marchant- 465
men, dyasseres, maryed mē, women
with chyld, iudges, kynges, and hus-
bondmen? ye and this that J haue
sayd is the least parte of my payne.
But J am nat now so moche trob- 470
led with soche busynes, for that J
wold hartely thanke you, but that
this commodytie dothe brynge a
greater discōmodytie with hym. J
haue

475 haue now more ease, but lesse honor
& profett. Before this tyme J was
callyd quene of heuen, lady of the
world, but now any man wyll skarsly
say aue Maria or hayle Mary.
480 Before J was clothyd with precyous
stones and gold, and had my
chaunges, and dayly ther was offe-
ryd gold and precyous stones, now
J am skarsly coueryd with halffe a
485 gowne and that is all beeyten with
mysse. My yerly rentes be now so
smalle y^t J am skarsly able to fynde
my pore quere kepar to light a wax
candle before me. Yet all this myght
490 be sufferyd, but you be abowt to
pluke away greater thynges, you
be abowt (as they say) that what so
euer any saynte hathe in any place,
to take hyt frome the churches, but
495 take hede what you doo. For ther is
no saynte without a way to reuēge
his wronge. Jf you cast saynt Petre
forthe of the churche, he may serue
you

you of the same sauce, and shite vp
heuyngates ayenst you. Ye saynt 500
Paule hathe his sworde. Barthyl-
mew is nat w^towt his great knyffe.
Saynt wylliam is harnysyd vnder
his monkes cloke, nat withowt a
greate speare. What canst thou doo 505
ayenst saynt George whiche is bo-
the a knyght & all armyd with his
longe spere and his fearfull sword?
Nor saynt Antony is nat withowt
his weapenes for he hathe holy fy- 510
re w^t hym. Ye the rest of the sayntes
haue theyr weapones or myschef-
ues, whiche they send apon whome
they liste. But as for me thou canst
not cast owt, except thou castowt 515
my sone, whiche J hold in myne ar-
mes. J wyll nat be seperat frome
hym, other thou shalt cast hym owt
with me orels thou shalt let vs bo-
the be, except that you wold ha- 520
ue a temple withowt a Christe.
These be the thynges that J wold
yow

yow shall know ymagyne you ther-
fore what shalbe your answer. For
525 this thinge pleasythe me very well.
Frome oure stony churche the ca-
lendes of Auguste, the yere frome
my sonnes passyon a M.CCCCC.
xiiij. J stony lady subscribyd thys
530 with myne owne hande. *Me.* Trew-
ly that was a soro and fearfull epi-
stle, J suppose that Glaucoplutus
wyll beware frōhēsforthe. *Ogy.* Ye &
if he be wyse. *Me.* Wherefore dyd nat
535 that good saynt James wryte to y^t
man of the same mater. *Ogy.* J can
nat tell, except it be bycause he is so
ferre of, and now a dayes men be
moche searchyd for suche maters, &
540 in theyr iornaye theyr lettres takē
frome them. *Me.* J pray you, what
god dyd send you intoEnglōd? *Ogy.*
J saw the wynd maruelouse pro-
sperouse thyderward, and J had al-
545 moste promysyd this to that blessyd
lady of Walsyngā that J wold seke
her

her within . ii. yere, *Me*. What wold
you axe of her. *Ogy*. No newthyngs
at all, but suche as be comen, as to
kepe saffe and sownd my housholde, 550
to encrease my goodes, and in thys
world to haue a lōge and mery liffe,
and whā J dye euerlastynge lyffe in
another worlde. *Me*. May nat ovr
lady grante the same at home with 555
vs? She hathe at Antwarpe a mo-
che more lordly temple thā at Wal-
syngame. *Ogy*. J denye nat but it
may be so, but in dyuers places she
grantes dyuers thynges, wether it 560
be her pleasur so to do, or bycause
she is so gentle, that as cōcernynge
this purpose, she wyll gyue her selfe
to our affectyōes. *Me*. J haue harde 565
oft of saynt James, but J pray you
describe to me the kyngdome of
Walsyngam. *Ogy*. Uerely J shall
tell you as shortly as J canne. Yt
is the most holy name in all En-
gland, and you may fynde some in 570
that

that yle, that suppose thayr substāce
shalnat prospayre except they vysy-
te her with thayr offerynge euery
yere ones as thay be able to gyue.

575 *Me.* Wher dothe she dwell? *Ogy.* At
the vittermost parte of all England
betwyxt the Northe and the Weste,
nat vary ferre frome the see, skarsly
iij myles, the towne is almost su-
580 steyned by the resort of pylgrymes.
The college is of Canōes, but thay
be suche as hathe thayr name of
the Laten tonge and be called Se-
culares, a kynd betwyxte monkes &
585 Chanones. *Me.* What you tell me of
~~the~~ Amphybyanes, suche as y^e mōstre
✧ *Fyber* is. *Ogy.* No thay be rather
suche as the * *Cocatrice*. But with-
owt dissimulation, J shall put you
590 owt of this dowte in thre wordes.
To them that thay hate, thay be
Chanones, and to them that thay
loue thay be Monkes *Menede*. Yet
yowe doo nat open thys redle. *Ogy.*

Amphy
byanes
be thyn
ges
dout-
full.

✧
Fyber
is abe-
ste of y^e
see & y^e
land.

*
A Coca
trice
wil kyll
a man
with a
loke.

J

J shall paynte it before youre eyes, 595
if the bysshope of Rome doo shot hys
thonderbowlt amōgst all monkes,
thay wyll than be chanones, & nat
monkes, but and if he wold suffre
all monkes to take wyues, thā wyll 600
they be monkes, *Me.* O new parta-
keres, J wold to god they wold ta-
keaway my wyffe. *Ogy.* But to co-
me to our purpose, the college hathe
* Rēt- skarsly any other * emolumētes but 605
tes. of the liberalite of our lady. For the
great offeryngs be kepyd styll, but
if ther be any litle some of monaye
offerid that goith to the comens of
the company, & the mayster whome 610
thay call pryoure. *Me.* Be thay of a
vertuous lyffe? *Ogy.* Nat to be dis-
praysyd, thay be more vertuous thā
ryche of thayr yerely renttes. The
temple ys goodly & goregious, but 615
oure Lady dwellythe nat in it, but yt
was purchasyd for the honor of her
sone. She hathe her owne temple,
that

that she may be of the ryght hand
620 of her sone. *Me.* Apon the righthād?
Whiche way dothe her sonne loke
than? *Ogy.* Jt is well remembryd.
Whan he lokythe to te West, his mo-
ther is apō his right hand, but whā
625 he turnythe hym to the Este she is
apon the lefte hand. But yet she
dwellythe nat in that churche, for
it is nat yet buyldyd all vpe, and the
wynde runnythe thorow euery par
630 te with open wyndowes & dowres,
and also nat ferre of is the Occiane
seye father of all wyndes. *Me.* what
doo yow tell me wher dothe she
dwell thā? *Ogy.* Jn y^t same churche
635 whiche J told you was nat all fy-
nyshyd, ther is a lytle chapell seelyd
ouer with wodde, on ether syde a ly-
tle dore wher y^e pylgrymes go tho-
row, ther is lytle light, but of y^e tape-
640 res, with a fragrant smell. *Me.* All
these be mete for religyon. *Ogy.* Ye
Menedemus if you loke within you
B. wyll

wyll say that it is a seate mete for
sayntes, all thynges be so bright w^t
gold, syluer, and precyous stones. 645
Me. You almost moue me to go thy-
ther also. *Ogy.* Jt shalnat repente
you of your iornay. *Me.* Spryngi-
the ther no holy oyle? *Ogy.* J trowe
you dote, that spryngythe nat but 650
owt of the sepulchres of sayntes, as
saynt Andrew, & saynt Katerē, owr
lady was nat beried. *Me.* J graūt J
sayd amysse, but tell on your tale.
Ogy. So moche more as thay per- 655
sayue youre deuocyō, so moche lar-
ger reliques wyl thay shew to you.
Me. Ye and peraduētūre that thay
may haue larger offerynges, as is
sayd that, many lytle offerynges 660
makythe a heuy boxe. *Ogygy.* Her
chaplens be alway at hand. *Me.* Be
thay of y^t Chanones? *Ogy.* No, thay
be nat permyttyd to be with her,
lest that peraduenture by occasyon 665
of that religyon, thay shuld be pluk-
kyd

kyd frome thayr owne religyō, and
 whylst thay kepe that virgyne, thay
 regard very lytle thayr awne vir
 670 gynyte, alonly in that inner chapell
 whiche is our ladyes preuy chābre,
 ther standithe a certayne Chanō at
 the autre. *Me.* For what purpose?
Ogy. To receyue and kepe, y^t whiche
 675 is offeryd. *Me.* dothe any man gyue
 ayenst hys wyll. *Ogy.* No, but ma-
 ny men hathe suche a gentle sham-
 fastnes, that thay wyll gyue some
 thyng to hym that standythe by,
 680 other thay wyll offre more largely,
 whiche thay wold nat doo perauē-
 ture if that he were absent, y^t stan-
 dithe there. *Me.* You tell me of man-
 nes affectiones, whiche J my selffe
 685 prouyd very ofte. *Ogy.* Ye trewly
 there be some so gyuē to our blessyd
 lady, that whan thay apere to put-
 vpe thayr handes to offre, with a p-
 pre cōuayance, t hay stayl y^t whiche
 690 other men hathe gyuen. *Me.* Than

℞ ij. lett

lett no man be there, wyll nat oure
Lady shote her thonderbowlte at
suche. *Ogy*. Wherfor shuld our lady
rather doo so, than God hymselffe,
whom thay be nat affrayd to pluke 695
owt hys robes, & breake y^e churche
walles therfore. *Mene*. J am in a
great doubt whether J shuld, ra-
ther maruayle apon thayre wykyd
boldnes, or Goddys great gētlenes 700
and longe sufferynge. *Ogy*. Apō the
Northe parte ther is a certayne
gaate, but lest that you should make
a lye, it is nat of the churche, but of
the pale that compassithe a bowte 705
the churche yarde, and that hathe
a lytle wykyt, suche as be in great
mennes gaates, that who so euer
wyll entre, must fyrst putin hys leg-
ge, nat withowt some ioperdie, and 710
than bowe downe hys hedde. *Me*.
Jt is ioperdie to goo thorow suche
a dore, to a mannes enemye. *Ogy*.
So it is, the sexten dyd tell me that
ther

715 ther was ones a knyght whiche
fleeynge hys enemye, than apro-
chyng, dyd ride thorow y^t wykyte,
and than the wretche dispayryng
in hym selffe, apon a soden motion,
720 dyd commend hymselffe to y^t blessyd
virgyne, whiche was than at hand.
But now commythe the myrakle.
By and by that knyght was all in
the churche yarde, and hys aduer-
725 sary was ragynge at the dore w^t-
owte. *Me.* And dyd he tell you so
maruyulous a myrakle for a trew-
the? *Ogy.* No dowte. *Me.* But I
suppose that he could nat so lyghte-
730 ly doo that to you so a great a phi-
losopher. *Ogy.* He dyd shewe to me
in that same wykytte in a plate of
coper, the ymage of the knyght fa-
stenyd with nayles and w^t the same
735 garmentes y^t the Englishmen were
wontyd to wayre at that tyme, as
you may see in that olde pictures,
whiche wynat lye, Barbours had

B iij. but

but lytle lyuyngē at that tyme: and
dieres & websteres gotte but litle 740
monay. *Me.* Why so? *Ogy.* For he
had a berd like a goote, and his cote
had neuer a plyte, & it was so litle,
that with strayte gyrdyngē it mayd
hys body to apere lesse than it was. 745
Ther was another plate, that was
in quantyte and fourme like to a
cheste. *Me.* Well now it is nat to be
doubtyd apō. *Ogy.* Under y^e wykyte
ther was a grate of yrne, that no 750
man cā passe theryn but a footemā,
for it is nat conuenyent that any
horsse shuld tread after apon y^t place,
whiche the knyght dyd cōsecrate
to owr lady. *Me.* Nat withowt a 755
good cause. *Ogy.* Frome that parte
toward the Este, there is a litle cha-
pell, full ofmaruayles and thyther
J wēte, ther was J receyuyd of an-
other of our ladyes chaplenes, ther 760
we knelyd downe, to make our litle
prayeres. By & by, he broghtforthe
the

the ioynte of a mannes fynger, the
greatyste of thre, whiche J kyssyd, &
765 askyd whose relyques thay were,
he dyd say that thay were saynt Pe
tres. What thapostle sayd J. Ye sayd
he. Than J dyd better beholde the
ioynte, whiche for hys greatenes
770 myght well haue be a Gyātes ioyn
te, rather than a mannes. Than
sayd J, saynt Peter must nedys be a
great man of stature. But at that
word, ther was one of the gentlemē
775 that stode by, that could not forbere
lawghynge, for the whiche J was
very sory. For if he had holden hys
pease, we had sene all the relyques,
yet we metely well pleasyd mayster
780 Sextē, with gyuyng hym .ij. or .iij,
grotes. Before that chapell there
was a litle howsse, whiche he sayd
ones in wynter tyme whan y^t there
785 was litle rowme to couer the reli
ques, that it was sodenly broght &
sett in that place. Under that house
B iij. there

there was a couple of pittes, bothe
fulle of water to the brynkys, and
thay say that y^e sprynge of thos pit-
tes is dedicate to our lady, that wa- 790
ter is v ery colde, and medycynable
for the he de ake and that hartbur-
nynge. *Me.* Jf that cold water wyll
hele the paynes in the hede and sto-
make, than wyll oyle putowte fyre 795
fromhensforthe. *Ogy.* Jt is a myra-
kle that J tell, good syr, orels what
maruayle shuld it be, y^t cowlde water
shuld slake thurste? *Me.* This may
well be one parte of your tale. *Ogy.* 800
Thay say that the fowntayne dyd
sodenly sprynge owte of the erthe at
the commaundement of our lady, &
J dilygently examenyng althyn-
ges, dyd aske hym how many yeres 805
it was sythe that howsse was so so-
denly broght thyther. Many yeres
agone saythe he. Yet, sayde J, the
wallys doo nat apere so old. He dyd
nat denay it. No mor thes woden 810
pyleres.

pyleres. He cowlde nat denay but y^t
they were sette there nat longe a-
goo, and also the mater dyd playn-
ly testyfy y^e same. Afterward, sayd
815 J, thys roffe whiche is all of rede
dothe apere nat to be very olde, &
he grantyd also, thes greete bemes
whiche lye ouerthwerte, and these
rafteres that hold vpe that howsse
820 were nat sett longe agone. He affyr-
myd my saynge. Well sayd J se-
ynge that no parte of the housse is
lefte but all is new, how can yow
say that this was the house whiche
825 was broght hyther so longe agoo.
Me. J pray you how dyd the hows-
keper, auoyde hymselffe frome your
argumēt. *Ogy.* By & by he dyd shew
to vs the mater by the skyne of a
830 bayre whiche had hangyd be the
rafteres a longe season, and dyd al-
most moke the symplenes of owre
wyttes that could nat perceyue so
manifeste an argumēte we beynge

B n. perswadyd

perswadyd by this argument, askid 835
pardon of our ignorance, and callid
into our communycacyon the he-
uēly mylke of our lady. *Me.* O how
like to the sone is the mother, for
he hath left to vs so moche blood 840
here in erthe, & she so moche mylke,
that a man wyl skarysly beleue a
woman to haue so moche mylke of
one chylde, in case the chylde shuld
sukke none at all. *Ogyr.* Thay saye 845
the same of the holy crosse, whiche
is shewyd in so many places bothe
openly, and pryuately, that if y^e fra-
gmentes were gatheryd apon one
heape, they wold apere to be a iuste 850
fraghte for a shipe, and yet Christe
dyd bere all his crosse hymselffe. *Me.*
But do nat you maruayll at this?
Ogyr. Jt may welbe a strāge thyng,
but no maruayle, seyng that the 855
lord whiche dothe encrease this at
hys pleasure, is almyghty. *Me.* Jt is
very gently expowndyd, but J am
afrayd,

860 afrayd, that many of thes be fay-
 nyd for lukre. *Ogy.* J suppose y^t God
 wold nat suffre hymselffe to be delu-
 dyd of suche a fasshion. *Mene.* Yis,
 Haue nat you sene that whā bothe
 the mother, the sone, the father, and
 865 the holy ghoste hathe be robbyd of
 thes sacrilegyous theues, that thay
 woldnat ones moue, or styre nother
 with bekke or crakke wherby thay
 myght fray away the theues. So
 870 great is the gentles of God. *Ogy.*
 So it is, but here out me tale. This
 mylke is kepyd apon the hye aultre,
 and in the myddys ther is Christe, w^t
 his mother apon hys ryght hand,
 875 for her honor sake, the mylke dothe
 represente the mother. *Me.* Jt may
 be sene than? *Ogy.* Jt is closyd in
 crystalle. *Me.* Jt is moyste thā? *Ogy.*
 What tell you me of moystenes, whā
 880 it was mylkyd more than a thow-
 sand and fyue hunthrithe yere ago-
 ne, it is so congelyd, that a mā wold
 saye

saye that it were chalke temperyd
with the whyte of a egge. *Me.* Ye,
but do thay sette it forthe bare? 885
Ogy. No, lest so holy mylke shuld be
defowlyd with the kyssynge of men.
Me. You say wel. For J suppose y^t
ther be many that kysse it, whiche
be nother clene mouthyd, nor yet be 890
pure virgynes. *Ogy.* Whan y^e sexten
sawe vs, he dyd runne to the aultre,
& put apon hym his surplese, & his
stole about his nekke, knelyd downe
relygyously, and worshipyd it, and 895
streghtforthe dyd offre the mylke to
vs to kysse. And at the ende of the
aultre we knelyd downe deuoutly, &
the fyrste of all we salutyd Christe, &
than after we callyd apon our lady 900
with thys prayer, whiche we had
mayd redy for the same purpose. O
mother & mayde, whiche dyd gyue
sukke with thy virgynes teates the
lorde of heuen and yerthe, thy sone 905
Jesus Christe, we beynge purifyed
thorowe

thorowe hys precyous blode, do de-
 syre that we may attayne, and co-
 me to that blessyd infancye of thy
 910 colombynes meknes, whiche is im-
 maculate without malice, frawde,
 or diseyte, and with all affectyon of
 harte dothe couett and stody for the
 heuenly mylke of the euangelicall
 915 doctryne, to goforth and encrease
 with it into a perfaycte man, into
 the mesure of the plentefulnes of
 Christe, of whos cōpany thou haste
 the fruycyon, togyther with the fa-
 920 ther, & the holyghost for euermore,
 so be it. *Me.* Uerely thys is a holy
 prayer. But wha t dyd she? *Ogygy.*
 Thay bothe bekkyd at vs, excepte
 my eyes waggyd, and me thoght yt
 925 the mylke daunsyd. Jn the meanse-
 son the sexten came to vs, withowt
 any wordes, but he held out a table
 suche as the Germanes vse to ga-
 ther tolle apon bridges. *Me.* By my
 930 trothe J haue cursyd veryofte su-
 che

che crauynge boxes, whan J dyd
ryde thorowe Germany. *Ogy.* We
dyd gyue hym certayne monay
whiche he offeryd to our lady, Thā
J axyd by a certayne yonge man, y^t 935
was well learnyd, whiche dyd ex-
pownde and tell vs the saynge of y^e
Sextē, hys name (as fere as J re-
membre) was Robert alderisse, by
what tokenes or argumētes he dyd 940
know that it was the mylke of owr
lady. And that J very fayne, & for
a good purpose desyryd to knowe, y^t
J myght stope the mowthes of cer-
tayne newfanglyd felowes, that be 945
wōtyd to haue suche holy relyques
in derysyon and mokage. Fyrst of
all the Sexten w^t a froward cown-
tenāce wold nat tell, but J desyryd
the yong man to mōue hym more 950
instantly, but somewhat more gently
he so courtesly behauyd hymselffe, y^t
and he had prayd owr la dy herselffe
after

after y^t fashion, she wold nat haue
955 be dysplesyd therwith. And thā this
mystycall chapleyn, as and if he
had be inspyryd with y^e holy ghoste,
castynge at vs a frounyng loke, as
& if he wold haue shote at vs y^t hor-
960 ryble thonderbolte of the greate
curse, what nede you (saythe he) to
moue suche questyones, whan yow
see byfore your eyes so autentycall
& old a table. And we were afayd
965 lest that he wold haue cast vs out of
the church for heretykes, but that
oure monay dyd tempre hys grea-
te furye. *Mene*. What dyd you in
the meaneseason? *Ogygyus*. What
970 suppose you? We were amasyd as
and if a man had stryke vs with a
clube, or we had be slayne with a
thonderclape, and we very lowly
axid pardon of oure folishe bolde-
975 nes, and gote vs frome thens. For
so must we entreate holy thynges.

Frome

Frome thens we went in to y^e how-
se where owre lady dwellithe, and
whan we came there, we sawe an-
other Sexten whiche was but a 980
noues, he lokyd famylarly as and if
he had knowē vs, and whā we came
a litle further in, we sawe another,
y^t lokyd moch after suche a fashion,
at the last came the thyrd. *Me*. Per- 985
aurenture thay desyryd to descrybe
you. *Ogy*. But J suspecte another
mater. *Mene*. What was it? *Ogygy*.
There was a certayne theffe y^t had
stole almost all owr ladyes frontlet, 990
and J supposyd y^t they had me in su-
spycyon therof. And therfore whan
J was within the chapell J mayd
my prayers to ourlady after thys
fashiō. Oh cheffe of all women Ma- 995
ry the mayd, most happy mother,
moste pure virgyne, we vnclene, and
synners, doo vysyte the pure & holy,
and after our abylytye we haue of-
feryd vnto the, we pray thy that thy 1000
sone

sone may grante this to vs, that we
may folow thy holy lyffe, and that
we may deserue thorow the grace
of the holy ghoste, spirytually to cō-
1005 ceyue the lord Jesus Christ, & after
that conceptyon neuer to be separ-
rat frome hym, Amen. This donè
J kyssyd the aultre, and layd downe
certayne grotes for myne offeryuge
1010 and went my waye. *Me.* What dyde
our lady now, dyd nat she make one
sygne, that you myght know that
she had hard youre prayeres. *Ogy.*
The lyght (as J told you before)
1015 was but litle, and she stode at the
ryght ende of the aultre in the der-
ke corner, at the last the communi-
catyō of the fyrst Sexten had so di-
scoregyd me, that J durst nat ones
1020 loke vpe with myne eyes. *Me.* This
pylgremage came but to smale ef-
fecte. *Ogy.* Yes, it had a very good &
mery ende. *Me.* You haue causyd me
to take harte of grasse, for (as Ho-

¶ mere

mere saythe) my harte was almost 1025
 in my hose. *Ogy.* Whan dynar was
 done, we returnyd to y^e temple. *Me.*
 Durste you goo & be susspecte of fe-
 lonye? *Ogy.* Peraenture so, but J
 had nat my selffe in suspiciō, a gylt- 1030
 les mynde puttythe away feare. J
 was very desyrous to see that table
 whiche the holy Sexten dyd open
 to vs. At the last we fownde it, but
 it was hāgyd so hye that very fewe 1035
 could rede it. My eyes be of that fa-
 shion, that J can nother be callyd
 ✧ Linceus, nother purre blynd.
 And therefore J instantly desyryd
 Alldryge to rede it, whose redyng 1040
 J folowyd with myne owne eyes,
 because J wold skarsly truste hym
 in suche a mater. *Me.* Well, now all
 doubtes be discussyd. *Ogy.* J was a-
 shamyd that J doubtyd so moche, y^e 1045
 mater was so playne setforthe be-
 fore oure eyes, bothe the name, the
 place. the thyng it selffe as it was
 done,

✧ Lin
 ceus ys
 abeaste
 so quike
 eyed y^t
 it wyll
 see tho-
 row a-
 ny wall

done, to be breffe, there was nothyn-
1050 ge lefte owte. There was a mane
whos name was Wylyam whiche
was borne in Parise, a man very
deuoute in many thyngs, but pryn-
cypally excedynge relygyous in
1055 searchynge forthe relyques of all
sayntes thorowowt all the worlde.
He after that he had vysytyd many
places, contrayes, and regyones, at
the laste came to Cōstantynenople.
1060 For Wylhelmes brother was there
byshope, whiche dyd make hym pry-
uy to a certayne mayde, whiche had
professyd chastyte, that hadde parte
of oure ladyes mylke, whiche were
1065 an excedynge precyous relyque, if
that other with prayer, or monaye,
or by any crafte it myghte be gotte.
For all the reliques that he hadde
gotte before were but tryfles to so
1070 holy mylke. Wylliam wold nat rest
there tyll that he had gotte halffe of
that holy mylke, but whan he had

¶ ij. it,

it, he thoghte that he was richer
than Croeseus. *Me.* Why nat, but
was it nat withowt any goodhope? 1075
Ogy. He went thā streght home, but
in hys iornay he fell seke. *Me.* Jesu
there is nothyng in thys worlde y^t
is other permanent, or alwayes in
good state. *Ogy.* But whan he sawe 1080
& perceyuyd that he was in greate
ioperdye of his lyffe, he callyd to him
a frenchman, whiche was a very
trusty companyon to hym in hys
iornay. And commaundyd all to a- 1085
uoyd the place, and make sylence, &
pryuyly dyd betake to hym thys
mylke, apon this condycyō, that if it
chāsyd to come home saffe & sownde
he shuld offre that precyous tre- 1090
sure to our ladyes aultre in Paryse,
whiche standythe in the myddys of
the ryuere Sequana, whiche dothe
apere to separat hymselffe to honor
and obaye our blessyd lady. But to 1095
make short tale. Wylyam is deade, &
buried,

buried, the Frenchman mayd hym
redy to departe apon hys iornay, &
sodely fell seke also. And he in great
1100 dyspayre of amendinge, dyd com-
myth y^e mylke to an Englishmā, but
nat withowt great instance, and
moche prayer he dyd that whiche
he was mouyd to doo. Than dyed
1105 he. And y^e other dyd take the mylke,
and put it apon an aultre of y^e same
place the Chanones beyng present-
te, whiche were yt as we call Re-
gulares. Thay be yet in the abbaye
1110 of saynt Genofeffe. But y^e Englishmā
obtaynyd the halffe of that mylke, &
caryed it to Walsyngā in England,
the holy ghost put suche in hys myn-
de. *Me.* By my trothe this is a godly
1115 tale. *Ogy.* But lest there shuld be
any doubte of this mater, y^e Bysho-
pes whiche dyd grante pardon to it
thayre names be wryten there, as
they came to vysyte it, nat withowt
1120 thayre offerynges, and thay haue

¶ iii. gyuen

gyuen to it remysson, as moche as
thay had to gyue by thayre autho-
rite. *Me.* How moche is that? *Ogy.*
Fowrty dayes. *Mene.* Yee is there
dayes in hell. *Ogy.* Trewly ther is 1125
tyme. Ye but whan thay haue gra-
tyd all thayr stynte, thay haue no
more to grante. *Ogy.* That is nat so
for whan one parte is gone another
dothe encrease, and it chansythe dy- 1130
uersly euyne as the tonne of Canai-
dus. For that altoghe it be incon-
tynently fyllyd, yet it is alway em-
ptye: and if thou be takynge owt of
it, yet there is neuer the lesse in the 1135
barell. *Me.* Jf thay grāte to an hun-
derithe thowsand mē fowrty dayes
of pardone, shuld euery man haue
elyke? *Ogy.* No doubte of that. *Me.*
And if any haue forty byfore dynar, 1140
may he axe other forty at after sou-
per, is there any thyng left than to
gyue him? *Ogy.* Ye, & if thou aske it
tentymes in one howre. *Me.* J wold
to

1145 to God that J had suche a pardon
bagge, J wold aske but .iiij. grotes,
and if thay wold flowe so faste. *Ogy.*
Ye but you desyre to be to ryche, if y^t
you myght for wysshynge, but J wyl
1150 turne to my tale, but there was so-
me good holy man whiche dyd gyue
this argumente of holynes to that
mylke, and sayd that our Ladyes
1155 mylke whiche is in many other pla-
ces, is precyous & to be worshipyd,
but thys is moche more precyous, &
to be honoryd, bycause the other
was shauen of stones, but this is the
same that came out of the virgynes
1160 brest. *Me.* How kno you that? *Ogy.*
The mayd of Cōstantynople, which
dyd gyue it, dyd saye so. *Me.* Pera-
uenture saynt Barnard dyd gyue it
to her. *Ogy.* So J suppose. For whā
1165 he was an old man, yet he was so
happy y^t he sukkyd of y^t same mylke,
that Jesus hymselffe sukkyd apon.
Me. But J maruayle why he was

¶ iiij. rather

rather callyd a hony sukker than a
mylke sukker. But how is it callyd 1170
oure ladyes mylke that came neuer
owt of her breste? *Ogy*. Yes it came
owt at her breste, but perauenture
it light apou the stone y^t he whiche
sukkyd knelyd apou, and ther was 1175
receyuyd, and so is encreasyd, & by
y^e wyll of god is so multiplyed. *Me*.
It is wel sayd. *Ogy*. Whan we had
sene all thys, whyle that we were
walkynge vpe & downe, if that any 1180
thyng of valure were offeryd, so y^t
any body were present to see tha ym
y^e Sextens mayd great haste for fe-
are of crafty cōuayēce, lokynge apō
thaym as thay wold eate thaym. 1185
Thay poynte at hym with there
fynger, thay runne, thay goo, thay
come, thay bekke one to an other,
as tho thay wold speake to thaym
that stand by if thay durste haue be 1190
bold. *Mene*. Were you affrayd of no-
thyng there? *Ogy*. Yis J dyde loke
apou

apō hym, lawghynge as who shold
saye J wold moue hym to speake to
1195 me, at laste he cam to me, and axid
me what was my name, J told him.
He axid me if yt were nat J that
dyd hange vpe there a table of my
vowe writen in Hebrew, with in .ij.
1200 yere before. J confessid that it was
y^e same. *Me.* Cā you wryte hebrewe?
Ogygy. No but all that thay cānat
vuderstond, thay suppose to be He-
brewe. And than (J suppose he was
1205 send for) came the posterior pryor.
Me. What name of worshipec is y^t?
Haue thay nat an abbate? *Ogy.* No
Me. Why so? *Ogy.* For thay cannat
speake Hebrew. *Me.* Haue thay nat
1210 a Bishope? *Ogy.* No. *Me.* What is y^e
cause? *Ogy.* For oure lady is nat as
yet so ryche, that she is able to bye a
crosse, & a mytre, whiche be so deare,
Me. Yet at least haue thay nat a pre-
1215 sedente? *Ogy.* No veryly. What let-
tythe thaym? *Ogy.* That is a name

¶ v. of

of dignyte and nat of relygyō. And
also for that cause suche abbayes
of Chanones, doo nat receyue the
name of an abbate, thay doo call 1220
thaym maysters? *Me.* Ye, but J ne-
uer hard tell of pryor posterior be-
fore. *Ogy.* Dyd you neuer learne
youre grāmere before. *Me.* Yis J
know prior posterior amōgst the fy- 1225
gures. *Ogy.* That same is it. Jt is
he that is nexte to the prioure, for
there priour is posterior. *Me.* You
speake apou the supprioure. *Ogy.*
That same dyd entertayne me ve- 1230
ry gently, he told me what greate
labure had be abowt y^e readyng of
thos verses, & how many dyd rub-
be thayr spectakles abowt thaym.
As oft as any old ancyeut doctor 1235
other of deuynte or of the lawe, re-
sortyd thyder, by and by he was
brought to that table, some sayd y^t
they were lettres of Arabia, some
sayd they were faynyd lettres. Well 1240
at

at the last came one that redde the
tytle, it was wryten in laten with
greate Romaine lettres, y^t Greke
was wryten with capytale lettres
1245 of Greke, whiche at the fyrst syght
do apere to be capytale latē lettres,
at thayr desyer J dyd expownde ye
verses in laten, trāslatyng theym
word for word. But whā thay wold
1250 haue gyuyne me for my labour, J re
fusyd it, seyng that ther was no-
thyng so hard that J wold not doo
for our blessyd ladyessake, ye thogh
she wold commaūde me to bere this
1255 table to Hierusalē. *Me.* What nede
you to be her caryoure, seyng that
she hathe so many angelles bothe
at her hedde and at her fette. *Ogy.*
Than he pullid owt of hys pursse a
1260 pece of wodde, that was cutt owte
of the blokke that our ladye lenyd
apon. J perceyuyd by and by tho-
row the smell of it, that it was a ho-
ly thyng. Than whan J sawe so
greate

greate a relyque, putt of my cappe, 1265
and feldowne flatte, & very deuout-
ly kyssyd it .iiij. or .iiij tymes, poppyd
it in my pursse. *Me.* J pray you may
a man see it? *Ogy.* J gyue you good
leue. But if you be nat fastynge, 1270
or if you accompanied with yowre
wyffe the nyght before, J conceyle
you nat to loke apon it. *Me.* O bles-
sed arte thou that euer thou gotte
this relyque. *Ogy.* J may tell you 1275
in cowncell, J wold nat gyue thys
litle pece for all y^e gold that Tagus
hathe, J wyll sett it in gold, but so y^t
it shall apere thorow a crystall sto-
ne. And than the Supprioure whā 1280
he sawe that J dyd take the relyque
so honorably, he thoght it shuld nat
be lost, in case he shuld shew me
greater mysteries, he dyd aske me
whether J hadde euer sene our la- 1285
dyes secretes, but at that word J
was astonyed, yet J durst nat be so
so bold as to demande what thos
secretes

secretes were. For in so holy thyn-
1290 ges, to speake a mysse is no small
danger. J sayd that J dyd neuer se
thaym, but J sayd that J wold be
very glade to see thaym. But now
J was broght in, and as J had be
1295 inspired with the holy ghost, than
thay lyghtyd a couple of taperes, &
setforthe a litle ymage, nat coury-
ously wroght, nor yet very gor-
geous, but of a meruelous ytue. *Me.*
1300 That litle body hathe smale powre
to worke myrakles. J saw saynt
Christopher at Parise, nat a carte
lode, but as moche as a greate hyl-
le, yet he neuer dyd myrakles as
1305 farre as euer J herd telle. *Ogy.* At
our ladyes fette there is a precyous
stone, whos name as it is nother in
Greke nor Laten. The Frenchemā
gaue it the name of a tode, bycause
1310 it is so like, that no man (althoghe
he be conynge) can set it forthe mo-
re lyuely. But so moche greater is
the

the myrakle, that the stone is litle,
the fourme of the tode dothe nat a-
pere, but it shynythe as it were en- 1315
closyd within that precyous stone.

Me. Perauenture they ymagyne y^e
symylytude of a tode to be there,
euyñ as we suppose whan we cutte
y^e fearne stalke there to be an egle, 1320
and euyñ as chyldren (whiche they
see nat indede) in y^t clowdes, thynke
they see dragones spyttyng fyre, &
hylles flammyng with fyre, & ar-
myd mē encownterynge. *Ogy.* No, 1325
J wold you shuld know it, there is
no lyuyng tode that more euydēt-
ly dothe expresse hymselffe than it
dyd there playnly apere. *Me.* He-
therto J haue sufferyd thy lyes, but 1330
now get the another that wyll be-
leue the, thy tale of a tdde. *Ogy.* No
maruayle Menedemus thogh you
be so disposyd, for all the world can-
not make me to beleue yt, not & all 1335
doctoures of dyuynyte wold swere
it

it were trewe. But that J sawe it
with myne eyes, ye with thes same
eyes, dyd J proue it. But in y^e mean-
1340 seson me thynke you regard natu-
rall phylosophye but litle. *Me.* why
so, because J wyll nat beleue y^t asses
flye? *Ogy.* An do you nat se, how na-
ture the worker of all thynges, do-
1345 the so excell in expressynge y^e fourme
bewty, & coloure of thaym maruy-
lously in other thynges, but pryn-
cypaly in precyous stones? moreo-
uer she hathe gyuen to y^e same sto-
1350 nes wonderouse vertu and strēkthe
that is almost incredyble, but that
experience dothe otherwyse testy-
fy. Tell me, do you beleue that a
Adamand stone wold drawe vn-
1355 to him stele w^towt any towchyng
therof, and also to be sepate frome
him ayen of hys owne accorde, ex-
cepte that yow had sene it with
yowre eyes. *Me.* No verely, nat and
1360 if .x. Arystoteles wold perswade me
to

to the cōtrarye. *Ogy*. Therefore by-
cause you shuld nat say thys were
a lye, in case you here any thyng,
whiche you haue not sene prouyd.
Jn a stone callyd Ceraunia we see ¹³⁶⁵
y^t fashion of lightnyng, in the stone
Pyropo wyldfyre, Chelazia dothe
expresse bothe the coldnes and the
fourme of hayle, and thoghe thou
cast in to the hote fyre, an Emrode, ¹³⁷⁰
wyll expresse the clere water of the
seye. Carcinas dothe counterfay-
te y^e shape of a crabfishe. Echites of
the serpente vyper. But to what
purpose shuld J entreat, or inuesty- ¹³⁷⁵
gate the nature of suche thynges
whiche be innumerable, whā there
is no parte of nature nor in the ele-
mentes, nother in any lyuyng cre-
ature, other in planetes, or herbes y^t ¹³⁸⁰
nature euyn as it were all of plea-
sure, hathe not expressyd in precy-
ous stones? Doo yow maruayle thā
y^t in thys stone at owre ladies fote,
is

1385 is the fourme and fashion of a tode?

Me. J maruayle that nature shuld haue so moche lesure, so to counterfayt the nature of althynges.

Ogy. Jt was but to exercyse, or occupye the curyosytye of mannes wytte, and so at the lest wyse to kepe vs frome ydlenes, and yet as thoghe we had nothyng to passe y^e tyme with all, we be in a maner made apon foles, apon dyesse, and crafty iogeleres. *Me.* You saye very

1395 truthes. *Ogy.* There be many men of no smale grauytye, that wyll say thys kynd of stones, if that you put it in vynagre, it wyll swyme, thoge
1400 you wold thruste it downe with violence. *Me.* Wherefore do thay sette a tode byfore our lady? *Ogy.* Bycause

she hathe ouercome, trode vnderfo-
1405 te, abolyshyd all maner of vnclennes, poysō, pryde, couytousnes, and all wordly affectyones that raygne in man. *Me.* Woo be to vs, that haue so many todes in owre hartes.

D. *Ogy.*

Ogygy. We shalbe purgyd frome 1410
thaym all, if we dylygētly worshi-
owre lady. *Me*. How wold she be
worshipyd. *Ogy*. The most accepta-
ble honor, that thou canste doo to
her is to folowe her lyuyng. *Me*. 1415
You haue told all atones. But this
is hard to brynge to passe. *Ogy*. You
saye truthe, but it is an excellent
thyng. *Me*. But go to, and tell on
as you begane. *Ogy*. After thys to 1420
come to owre purpose, the Suppri-
oure shewyd to me ymages of gold
and syluer, and sayd, thes be pure
gold, and thes be syluer and gyltyd,
he told the pryce of euery one of 1425
thaym, and the patrone. Whan J
wonderyd, reioysynge of so marue-
louse ryches, as was abowt our la-
dy, than saythe the Sextē bycause
J percaue, that you be so vertu- 1430
ously affecte, J suppose it greate
wronge, to hyde any thyng frome
you, but now you shall see the pry-
uytyes

uytyes of our lady, and than he pul-
1435 lyd owt of the aultre a whole world
of maruayles, if J shuld tell you of
all, a whole daye wold nat suffyse, &
so thys pylgremage chansyd to me
most happy. J was fyllyd euyn full
1440 withe goodly syghts, and J brynge
also with me this wonderous rely-
que, whiche was a tokē gyuen to me
frōe our lady. *Me.* Haue you nat it
prouyd, what valewre your woden
1445 relyque is on? *Ogy.* Yis, y^t J haue, in
a certayne Jnne within thys thre
dayes, ther J fownde a certayne
man y^t was bestraght of hys wytte,
whiche shuld haue be bownde, but
1450 thys woden relyque wasput vnder
hys nekke pryuyly, wherapon he
gad a sadde and sownd sleape, but
in the mornynge he was hole and
sownde as euer he was be fore. *Me.*
1455 Jt was nat the phrensy, but the
dronkē dropsye, sleape ys wontyd to
be a good medicyne for y^t dysease.

¶ ij.

Ogy.

Ogy. Whā you be dysposyd to skoffe
 Menedemus, yt ys best y^t you gette
 a nother maner of gestynge stokke ¹⁴⁶⁰
 than thys, for J tell you it is nother
 good nor holsome, to bowrde so w^t
 sayntes. For thys same mā dyd say,
 that a woman dyd apere to hym,
 in hys sleape, after a maruelouse ¹⁴⁶⁵
 fashion, whiche shold gyue hym a
 cuppe to drynke apon. *Mene.* J sup-
 pose it was * Elleborū. *Ogy.* That
 is vncertayne, but J kno well y^e mā
 was well broght into hys mynde ¹⁴⁷⁰
 ayen. *Me.* Dyd you other come or
 goo by Sante Thomas of Cantor-
 bury that good archebishope. *Ogy.*
 What els / there ys no pylgremage
 more holy. *Me.* J wold fayne here ¹⁴⁷⁵
 of yt, and J shold nat trouble you.
Ogy. J pray you here, & take good
 hedd. Kente ys callyd that parte of
 England, y^t buttythe apon Fraūce
 and Flanders, the cheffe cytye there ¹⁴⁸⁰
 of ys Cantorburye, in yt there be ij.
 Abbayes.

* Elle-
 borum
 wyll re-
 store a
 man to
 hys sen-
 ses that
 hathe
 ost thē.

Abbeyes, bothe of thaym be of Saynte Benedycts ordre, but y^t which ys callyd Saynte Augustyns dothe
1485 apere to be the oldre, that whiche ys callyd now Saynte Thomas dothe apere to haue be the Arche-
byshope of Cantorburys see, where as he was wontyd to lyue w^t a sorte
1490 of monkes electe for hym selffe, as Byshopes now adayes be wontyd to haue thayr howses nye vnto the
churche, but aparte frome other canons howses. In tymes paste bothe
1495 Byshopes & Chanones were wontyde to be monkes, as may be playnly prouyd by many argumentes.
The churche which ys dedycate to Saynte Thomas, dothe streche
1500 vpe apon heght so gorgeously, that it wyll moue pylgrymes to deuoci-
on a ferre of, and also withe hys bryghtnes and shynyng he dothe
lyght hys neybures, & the old place
1505 whiche was wontyd to be most ho-

Ð iij. ly

ly, now in respecte of it, is but a dar-
ke hole and a lytle cotage. There be
a couple of great hye toures, which
doo seme to salute strangeres afer-
re of, and thay dow fyll all the con- 1510
tray abowt bothe farre and nere, w^t
the sownde of great belles, in the
fronte of the temple, whiche is ap^o
the southe syde, there stand grauen
in a stone thre armyd men, whiche 1515
with thayr cruell handes dyd sleye
the most holy saynte Thomas, and
there is wryten thayr surnames
Tracy, Breton, and Beryston. *Me.*
J pray you wharfore doo thay suf- 1520
fer thos wykyd knyghtes be so had
in honoure. *Ogy.* Euyne suche honor
is gyuen to thaym as was gyue to
Judas, Pylate, and Caiphas, & to
the compauy of the wykyd sowdye- 1525
res, as you may se payntyd in the
tables that be sett byfore aultres.
Thayr surnames be putto lest any
man hereafter shuld vsurpe any
cause

1530 cause of thayr prayse. Thay be
payntyd byfore mennes eyes, by-
cause that no cowrtier after thys
shuld laye violēt handes other apō
Byshopes, or the churche goodes.
1535 For thes thre of this garde strayght
apon that wykyd acte, wente starke
madde, nor thay had neuer had
thayr mynde ayen, but that thay
prayd to blessyd saynt Thomas. *Me*
1540 O blessyd pacyence of suche marty-
res. *Ogy.* At our entre in, lord what
a pryncely place dyd apere vnto vs,
where as euery mā that wyll may
goo in. *Me.* Js there no maruayle
1545 to be sene. *Ogy.* Nothyng but the
greate wydnes of the place, and a
sorte of bokes, y^t be bownde to pyle-
res wherein is the gospell of Nico-
demus, and J cannat tell whos se-
1550 pulkre, *Me.* What than? *Ogy.* Thay
do so dylygētly watche lest any mā
shulde entre in to the quere of yron,
that thay wyll skarsly fuffre a man

Ð iiij. to

to loke apon it, whiche is betwyxte
the greate churche & the hye quere ¹⁵⁵⁵
(as thay calle it) a man that wyll go
thyther must clyme vp many stay-
res byfore, vndre the whiche there
is a certayne wykylt with a barre y^t
openythe the dore apon the northe ¹⁵⁶⁰
syde. There standythe forthe a cer-
tayne aultre whiche is dedycate to
our lady, it is but a lytleone, and J
suppose set there for no other pur-
pose, but to be a olde monumēt or ¹⁵⁶⁵
sygne, that in thos dayes there was
no greate superfluyte. There thay
saye that thys blessyd martyr sayd
his last good nyght to our lady, whā
he shuld departe hensse. Jn y^e aultre ¹⁵⁷⁰
is the poynte of the sword that sty-
ryd abowt the braynes of thys bles-
syd martyr. And there lye his bray-
nes shed apon the yerthe, wherby
you may well knowe y^t he was nere ¹⁵⁷⁵
deade. But the holly r^e uste of thys
grat J deuoutly kyssyd for loue of y^t
blessyd

blessyd martyr. From thens we wēt
 vndre the crowdes, whiche is nat
 1580 withowt hys chaplaynes, & there
 we sawe the brayne panne of that
 holy martyr whiche was thraste
 quyte thorow, all the other was co-
 ueryd with syluer, the ouerparte of
 1585 the brayne panne was bare to be
 kyssyd, and there with all is sethfor-
 the a certayn leden table hauynge
 grauyd in hym a tytyle of saynte
 Thomas of Acrese. There hange
 1590 also the sherte of heyre, & hys gyr-
 dle with hys heren breches where
 with that noble champyō chastnyd
 hys body, thay be horryble to loke
 apon, and greatly reproue oure de-
 1595 lycate gorgeousnes. *Me.* Ye perauē-
 ture so thay do the mōkes sloteful-
 nes. *Ogy.* As for that mater J cā-
 nat affyrme nor yet denye, nor yet
 it is no poynte of my charge. *Me.*
 1600 Ye saye truthe. *Ogy.* Frome thens
 we returuyd in to the quere, & apon
 D u. the

y^e northe syde be y^e relyques shewyd,
a wonderouse thyng to se, what a
sort of bones be broght forthe, skul-
les, iawes, thethe, handes, fyngres, 1605
hole armes, whā we had worshipyd
thaym all, we kyssyd thaym, that J
thoght we shuld neuer haue mayd
an ende, but that my pylgremage
felow whiche was an vnmete com- 1610
panyon for suche a busynes, prayd
thaym to make an end of sethyng
forthe thayre relyques. *Me.* What
felowe was that? *Ogy.* He was an
Englyshmā callyd Gratiane colte 1615
a man bothe vertuouse and well
learnyd, but he had lesse affectyon
toward pylgremages than J wold
that he shuld haue. *Me.* One of Wy-
clyffes scoleres J warrante you? 1620
Ogy. J thynke nat, althoghe he
hadde redde hys bokes, how he ca-
me by thaym J cannat tell. *Me.* He
dysplesyd mayster Sextē greuofly.
Ogy. Thā was there broght forthe 1625
an

an arme whiche had yet the redde
fleshe apon it, he abhorryd to kysse
it, a man myght se by hys counte-
nance that he was nothyng well
1630 pleasyd, & than by and by mayster
Sexten put vp hys relyques. But
than we lokyd apō the table whiche
was apō the aultre, and all hys gor-
geousnes, aftrewarde thos thyngs
1635 that were hydde vnder the aultre.
ther was nothyng but riches exce-
dyng, a man wold accompte both
Midas and Cresus beggers in re-
specte of thos riches that ther was
1640 sett abrode. *Me.* Was ther no more
kyssynge thē? *Ogy.* No, but an other
affection and desyre came apō me.
Me. What was that? *Ogy.* J syghed
y^t J had no suche relyques at home,
1645 *Me.* Oh a wycked desyre & an euyl
thought *Ogy.* J graunt, and there?
fore J axyd, forgyfnes ofsaynt Tho-
mas before J remouyd one fote, to
departe out of the church. After
thes

thes thus we were brought in to y^e 1650
reuestry, o good lorde what a goodly
syght was ther of vestmētes of vel-
uet & clothe of golde, what a some
of candlestykes of gold? We sawe
ther saynt Thomas crosse staffe, 1655
ther was seē also a rede ouerlayed
with syluer, it was but of a smalle
wyght, vnwrought, nor no longer
then wold retch vnto a mans myd-
gle. *Me.* Was ther no crosse? *Ogy.* J 1660
sawe none at all, ther was shewed
vs a robe of sylke treuly, but sowed
with cownse threde, garnysshyd w^t
nother gold nor stone. Ther was
also a napkyn full of swette blody, 1665
wher with saynt Thomas wpyd
bothe hys nose and hys face, these
thynges as monumētes of auncky-
ent sobernes we kyssed gladely. *Me.*
Be not these thynges showed to e- 1670
uery body? *Ogy.* No for sothe good
syr. *Me.* How happened it that you
were in so good credens, that no se-
cret

cret thynges were hyd frome you?

1675 *Ogy.* J was well acquyntede with
the reuerende father Gwylyame
warham the archbyshope. He wro-
te .ii. or .iii. wordes in my fauour.

Me. J here of many that he is a mā
1680 of syngler humanite. *Ogy.* But ra-
ther thou woldest call hym huma-
nite it selfe if thou dydest well know
hym. For ther is in hym soche ler-
nyng, so vertuouse lyffe, soche pu-
1685 renes of maneres, that a mā cowlde
wyshe no gyfte of a pfayte Byshope
in him, that he hathe nat. Frome
thens afterward we were ladde to
greater thynges. For behyndethe
1690 hyghe aultre, we ascēdyd as it we-
re in to a nother new church, ther
was shewed vs in a chapell the face
of the blessed man ouergylted and
with many precyous stones goodly
1695 garnysshed. A soden chaunse here
had almost marred the matter and
put vs out of conceyte. *Me.* J tary

to

to knowe what euyl chaunse yow
wyll speke of. *Ogy.* Here my compa-
nyō Gratiā gote hym lytle fauoure, 1700
for he, after we had mad an ende of
praynge, inquiryed of hym that sate
by the hede, herke, he seyde, good fa-
ther, is it true that J here, y^t saynt
Thomas whyl he it lyued was mer 1705
cyfull toward y^e poer people? That
is very true saythe he, and he begā
to tell greatly of his liberalyte and
compassyon that he shewede to the
poer and nedy. Then sayd Gratiā : 1710
J thynke that affection and good
mynd in him not to be chaungyde,
but y^t it is now moche better. Unto
this graunted y^e keper of the hede,
agayn sayd he, then in as moche as 1715
thys holy man was so gratyouse
vnto y^e poer, whan he was yet poer,
& he hym selfe had nede of monay
for y^e necessarys of hys body, thynke
ye nat that he wold be contēt, now 1720
that he is so ryche, and also nedethe
nothyng,

nothyng, that if a poer womā ha-
uyng at home chylderne lakyng
mete and drynke, or els doughters
1725 beyng in danger to lose ther virgi-
nite, for defaute of ther substaunce
to mary them with, or hauyng her
husbande sore syke, and destitute
of all helpe, in case she askyd lycens,
1730 & pryuyly stole away a small porcy-
on of so greate riches, to sukkre her
howshold, as and if she shold haue it
of one that wold other leane, or gy-
ue it to herre? And whan he wold
1735 nat answere that kepyd the golden
hedde, Gracyane, as he is somewhat
hasty, J, saythe he, doo suppose
playnly, that this holy man woldbe
gladde, yf y^t he, now beyng deade,
1740 myght sustayne the necessariye of po-
re people. But there mayster par-
sone begone to frowne, & byte hys
lyppe, with hys holowe eyes lyke to
✧ Gorgone y^e monstre to luke apō
1745 vs. J doo not dowbte he wold haue
caste

✧ A
mōster
y^t hathe
snakes
for hea-
res a-
pon her
hedde.

cast vs out of the temple, and spytte
apō vs, but that he dyd knowe that
we were comendyd of the archeby-
shope. But J dyd somewhat mytty-
gate the manes ire, with my fayre 1750
wordes, saynge that Gratiane dyd
nat speake as he thoghte, but that
he gestyd as he was wontyd to
doo, and stoppyd hys mouthe with
a fewe pens. *Mene.* Treuly J do 1755
greatly alow your goodly fashion,
but oftentimes earnestly J cōsyder,
by what meaynes they may be acō-
pted without faute & blame, that
bestow so moche substance in buyl- 1760
dyng churchys, in garnysshyng,
and enrychyng them without all
measure. J thynke as touchyng the
holy vestmentes, & the syluer plate
of the temple ther ought to be gy- 1765
uyn, to the solempne seruys, hys
dygnyte and comlynes, J wyll also
that the buyldyng of the churche
shall haue hys maiesty decent and
cōuenient.

1770 conuenient. But to what purpose
seruyth so many holywater pottes,
so many cādlestyckes, so many yma
ges of gold. What nede there so ma
ny payre of organes (as thay call
1775 them) so costely & chargeable? For
one payre can not serue vs : what
profyteth y^t musicall crynge out
in the temples y^t is so derely bought
and payed for, whan in the meane
1780 seson our brothers and systers the
lyuely temples of Christe liynge by
the walles / dye for hungre & colde.
Ogy. Ther is no vertuouse or wyse
man, that wold nat desyre a meane
1785 to be hadde in thes thynges. But
in as moche as thys euyl is growen
and spronge vp of superstityon be
yond mesure, yet may it better be
sufferde, specially when we consy
1790 der on the other syde the euyll con
science and behauyor of them that
robb the churchys of what so euer
iuellys ther may be founde, thes ry-

℥. ches

ches were gyuen in a maner great
men, & of pryncys, the whiche they 1795
wold haue bestowede vpon a worse
vse, that is to say other at the dyce
or in the warres. And if a man take
any thyng from thense. Fyrst of all
it is taken sacrylege, then they hold 1800
ther handes that were accustomed
to gyfe, besyde that morouer they
be allured & mouyde to robbynge &
vaynyng. Therfore thes mene be
rather the keepers of thys treasures 1805
thē lordes. And to speake a worde
for all, me thynket it is a better
syght to beholde a temple rychely
adourned, as ther be some with ba-
re wolles, fylthy and euyl fauorde, 1810
more mete for stables to put horses
then churches for Chrysten people.
Me. Yet we rede that Byshopes in
tymes paste were praysede and cō-
mended bycause they solde the ho- 1815
ly vesseles of theyr churches, and w^t
that money helped and releued the
nedy

nedy and poure people. *Ogy.* Thay
 be praysede also now in our tyme,
 1820 but thay be praysed onely, to folow
 ther doynge (J suppose) thay may
 not, nor be any thyng dysposede.
Me. J interrupte and lett yowr cō-
 munycatyō. J loke now for the cō
 1825 clusyon of y^e tale. *Ogy.* Gyffe audy-
 ence, J wyll make an ende shortly.
 Jn the meane seson comyth forthe
 he that is the cheffe of them all. *Me.*
 Who is he? the abbot of the place?
 1830 *Ogy.* He werythe a mytre, he may
 spend so moche as an abbot, he wā
 ted nothyng but y^e name, and he is
 called prior for this cause tharche-
 byshope is takē in the abbotes sted.
 1835 For in old tyme who so euer was
 archbyshope of y^t dyocese, the same
 was also a monke. *Me.* Jn good
 faythe J wold be content to be na-
 myde a Camelle, if J myght spende
 1840 yerely the rentes and reuennes of
 an abbot. *Ogy.* Me semede he was

℥ ij. a

man bothe vertuous and wyse, and
not vnlearnede Duns diuinite. He
opened the shryne to vs in whiche y^e
holle body of the holy mā, thay say, ¹⁸⁴⁵
dothe rest and remayne. *Me.* Dydste
thou see hys bones. *Ogy.* That is
not conuenient, nor we cowlde not
come to it, except we sett vp laders,
but a shryne of wod couerede a shry ¹⁸⁵⁰
ne of gold, when that is drawne vp
with cordes, thā apperith treasure
and riches inestimable. *Me.* What
do J here? the vilest part and worst
was golde, all thynges dyd shyne, ¹⁸⁵⁵
florishe, and as it were with lyght-
nynges appered with precyouse sto-
nes and those many and of great
mnlitude: some were greater than
a gowse egge. Dyuerse of y^e monks ¹⁸⁶⁰
stode ther aboute with greate re-
uerence, the couer takyn a way, all
we kneled downe and worshyped.
The pryor w^t a whyte rodde showed
vs euery stone, addyng therto the ¹⁸⁶⁵
frenche

frenche name, the value, & the au-
 tor of the gyfte, for the cheffe stonys
 were sent thyther by great prynces
Me. He ought to be a man of an
 1870 excedyng witt & memory. *Ogy.* You
 gesse well, how beit exercyse & vse
 helpeth moche, for euyn the same he
 dothe oftentymes. He brought vs
 agayne in to the crowdes. Our la-
 1875 dy hathe ther an habitacyon, but
 somewhat darke, closed rownde a-
 bout with double yren grats. *Me.*
 What feared she? *Ogy.* Nothings J
 trow, except theues. For J saw ne-
 1880 uer any thing more laden with ri-
 ches synse J was borne of my mo-
 ther. *Me.* You show vnto me blinde
 ryches. *Ogy.* Whē they brought vs
 candells we saw a sight passynge yē
 1885 ryches of any kynge. *Me.* Dothe it
 excede our lady of walsyngā? *Ogy.*
 To loke vpō this, is richer, the secret
 tresure she knoweth her selfe, but
 this is not showed, but to great

℥ iiij. men,

men, or to specyall frendes. At the 1890
last we were brought agayne in to
the reuestry, there was taken out a
cofer couered with blacke lether, it
was sett downe apon the table, it
was sett open, by and by euery body 1895
kneled downe and worshipyd. *Me.*
What was in it? *Ogyr.* Certayne tor-
ne ragges of linnen clothe, many
hauynge yet remaynyng in them
the token of the fylthe of the holy 1900
mannes nose. With thes (as they
say) saynt Thomas dyd wpe a way
the swett of hys face or hys neke, y^e
fylthe of hys nose, or other lyke fyl-
thynes with whiche mannes body 1905
dothe abownde. Then my compa-
nyon Gratian, yet ones agayn, got
hym but smalle fauour. Unto hym
an Englyshe man and of famylyare
acquayntenance and besyde that, 1910
a man of no smalle authorite, the
Prior gaff gentylly one of the lynnē
ragges, thynkyng to haue gyuen

a

a gyfte very acceptable & pleasaunt,
 1915 But Gratian there with lyttle plea
 sede and content, not with out an
 euydent synge of dyspleasure, toke
 one of them betwene hys fyngers,
 and dysdaynyngly layd it down a-
 1920 gayne, made a mocke and a mow
 at it, after the maner of puppettes,
 for thys was hys maner, if any
 thyng lykede hym not, y^t he thought
 worthy to be despysede. Wher at J
 1925 was bothe ashamed and wonde-
 rously afrayed. Notwithstandynge
 the Prior as he is a man not at all
 dull wytted, dyd dyssemble the mat-
 ter, & after he had caused vs drinke
 1930 a cuppe of wyne, gentylly he let vs
 departe. When we came agay ne to
 London. *Me.* What shuld ye do at
 London : seynge ye were not farre
 from the see cost, to seale in to yowr
 1935 cuntre? *Ogy.* It is true. But that
 see cost J refused and gladely dyd
 fle from it, as from a place that is

℥ iiij. noted

noted and more euyl spoken of it,
for robbyng, stelynge, and vntrue
dealynge, then is of dangerouse ioperdy in the see, be that hyll Malea 1940
wher many shyppes be drowned &
vtterly destroyed for euer. J wyll
tell the what J dyd se the last passa-
ge, at my commynge ouer. We were 1945
many caryed in a bote frome Calys
shore to go to the shyppe. Amongest
vs all was a pour yōge mā of Fraū-
ce, and barely appayrelled. Of hym
he demauuded halfe a grote. For 1950
so moche thay dow take and exacte
of euery one for so smalle a way ro-
wyng. He allegede pouerty, then
for ther pastyme thay searched hym,
plucked of hys shoes, and betwene 1955
the shoo and the soule, thay fownde
x. or .xii. grotes, thay toke thē from
hym laughyng at the mater: mock-
ynge and scornynge the poer & myse-
rable Frenchman. *Me.* What dyd y^e 1960
fellow than? *Ogy.* What thyng dyd
he?

he? He wept. *Me.* Whether dyd they
 thys by any authoryte? *Ogy.* Suer
 ly by the same. authoryte that thay
 1965 steyle and pycke straungers males
 and bowgettes, by the whiche they
 take a way mennes pnrsys, if they
 se tyme and place conuenient. *Me.*
 J meruayll that they dare be so
 1970 bold to doo soch a dede, so many lo-
 kyng vpon them. *Ogy.* They be so
 accustomed, that they thynk it well
 done. Many that were in the shyp
 lokede owt and sawe it also, in the
 1975 bote were dyuerse Englyshe mar-
 chauntes, whiche grudged agaynst
 it, but all in vayne. The botemē as
 it had ben a tryflyng mater reioised
 and were glade that they had so ta-
 1980 ken and handelyd the myserable
 Frenchman. *Me.* J wold play and
 sporte with these see theues, & han-
 ge them vpon the gallowes. *Ogy.*
 Yet of such both the shores swarme
 1985 full. Here tell me, J pray the. What
 C v. wyll

wyll great mē do, whē theues take
vpō them to enterpryze soch mast-
rys. Therfore, herafter J had leuer
go fourty myllys aboute, thē to go
y^t way, thoffe it be moche shorter. 1990
Morouer euyn as y^e goynge downe
to hell, is easy and leyght, but y^e cō-
mynge frome thens of greate dyf-
fyculty, so to take shyppynge of this
syde the see, is not very easy, and the 1995
landynge very hard & dangerouse.
Ther was at London dyuerse ma-
ryners of Antwerpe, with them J
purposed to take thesee. *Me.* Hathe
that cūtre so holy maryners? *Ogyr.* 2000
As an ape is euer an ape, J graūte,
so is a maryner euer a maryner : yet
if thou compare them vnto these, y^t
lyfe by robbynge, and pyllynge and
pollynge, they be angelles. *Me.* J 2005
will remembre thy saynge, if at any
tyme J be dysposed to go and se
Englāde. But come agayne in to y^e
waye, frome whens J broght the
owt.

2010 owt. *Ogy*. Then as we whent to-
ward London not farre from Can-
terbury, we came in to a great hol-
low and strait way, morouer bow-
ynge so downe, with hyllys of eyther
2015 syde, that a man can not escape, nor
it cannot be auoyed, but he must
nedes ryde that way. Upō the lefte
hand of the way, ther is an almes
howse for olde people, frome them
2020 runnyth on owt, as sone as they
here a horseman commynge, he
casteth holy water vpon hym, and
anone he offereth hym the ouerle-
ther of a shoo bownde abowte with
2025 an yerne whope, wherin is a glasse
lyke a precyouse stone, they y^t kysse
it gyf a pece of monay. *Me*. Jn soche
a way J had leuer haue an almes
howse of olde folkes, then a compa-
2030 ny of stronge theues. *Ogy*. Gratian
rode vpon my lefte hande nerer the
almes howse, he caste holy water
vpon hym, he toke it inworthe so so.

¶ ij. Whē

When the shoo was proferred hym,
he asked what he ment by it, saythe 2035
he, it is saynt Thomas shoo. There
at he fumed and was very angry,
& turned toward me : what (saythe
he) meane these bestes, that wold
haue vs kysse y^e shoes of euery good 2040
man? Why doo they not lyke wyse
gyue vs to kysse the spottel, & other
fylthe & dyrt of the body? J was so-
ry for the old mā, & gaue hym a pece
of money to cōforthe hym with all. 2045
Me. Jn myn opynyō Gratian was
not all to gether angry with owt a
good cause. Jf shoes and slyppers
were kept for a tokē of sobre lyuyn-
ge, J wold not be moch dyscontent 2050
ther w^t, but me thynks it is a shame
full fashyon for shoes, slyppers, and
breches to be offered to kysse to any
man. Jf some wold do it by there
owne fre wyll, of a certene affectyō 2055
of holynes, J thynke they were
whorthy of pardon. *Ogy.* Jt were
better

better not to thes thynges, if J may
say as J thynke, yet owt of thes
2060 thynges that cannat forthwith be
amended, it is my maner if ther be
any goodnes theryn, to take it out,
and apply it to the best. Jn y^e mean-
seson that contemplacyō and sight
2065 delited my mynde, that a good mā
is lykened to a shepe, an euyll man
to a venemouse best. The serpent
after she is dede, cā styngē no more,
notwithstandyng with her euyll sa-
2070 uour and poyson she infecteth and
corruptyth other. The shepe as lōge
as she is a lyue, norrysheth with her
mylke, clothet with her wolles, ma-
kyth riche with her lambes, when
2075 she is deade she gyueth vs good and
profytable lether, and all her body
is good meat. Euen so, cruell men,
gyuen all to the world, so longe as
they lyue be vnprofitable to all mē,
2080 when they be deade, what with
ryngyng of bellys, and pompyouse
funeralles

funeralles they greue them that be
on lyue, and often tymes vexed ther
successours with new exactyones.
Good men of the other syde at all 2085
assais be profytable to all men, and
hurtfull to noo man. As thys holy
man, whyle he was yet alyue, by
hys good example, hys doctryne, his
goodly exhortatyons prouokyd vs 2090
to vertuose lyuynge, he dyd cōfort
the cōforthlesse, he helped y^e poure,
ye and now that he is deade, he is
in a maner more profytable. He ha-
the buylded thys costly & gorgeouse 2095
churche, he hath caused greate au-
thoryte. thorough out all Englande
vnto the ordre and presthode. At y^e
last, thys pece of the show dothe su-
steyne a company of poure people. 2100
Me. Thys is of my faythe a godely
cōtemplacyō, but J maruayll great
ly, seyng you ar thus mynded, that
ye neuer dyd vysyte saynt Patryc-
kes purgatory in Yerlande, of the 2105
whiche

whiche the comyn people boost many wonderouse thynges, whiche seme to me not lyke to be true. *Ogy.* Of a suerty ther is not so meruelouse talkynge of it here, but the
2110 thyng it selffe doth fare excede. *Me.* Hast thou bene ther than, & gonne thorow saynt Patryckes pnygatory? *Ogy.* J haue saylede ouer a ryuer of hell, J went downe vnto the
2115 gates of hell, J saw what was dōe ther. *Me.* Thou dost me a greate pleasure, if thou wyll wotsaue to tell me. *Ogy.* Lett this be the prohemmy or begynnynge of owr commu-
2120 nycatyon, longe enough as J suppose. J wyll geet me home, & cause my souper to be made redy, for J am yet vndynede. *Me.* Why haue
2125 you not yet dyned? is it bycause of holynes? *Ogy.* Noo of a truthe, but it is bycause of enuy and euyll will. *Me.* Owe ye euyll wyll to yowr belly? *Ogy.* No, but to the couetyse ta-
uerners

ueners euer catchynge and snat- 2130
chyng the whiche when they wyll
not sett afore a man that is mete &
conuenient, yet they are not afear-
de to take of straūgers that, whiche
is bothe vnright and agaynst good 2135
consciens. Of thys fashyō J am a-
customed to be auengede vpon thē.
Jf J thynke to fare well at souper
other with myne acquayntauns, or
with some host som what an honest 2140
man, at dyner tyme J am sycke in
my stomacke, but if J chaunce to
fare after myne appetyte at dyner,
before souper also J begynne to be
well at ease in my stomacke. *Me.* 2145
Are ye not ashamede to be taken
for a couetouse fellow & a nygerde?
Ogy. Menedeme they that make
cost of shame in soche thynges, be-
leue me, bestow they r money euyll. 2150
J haue lerned to kepe my shame for
other purposys. *Me.* Now J longe
for the rest of yowr communycacy-
on

on, wherfore loke to haue me yowr
2155 geste at souper, where ye shall tell it
more conueniently. *Ogy.* For sothe
J thanke you, that ye offere yowr
selfe to be my gest vndesyred, when
many hertely prayed refuse it, but
2160 J wyll gyue yow double thanks,
if ye wyll soupe to day at home. For
J must passe that tyme in doynge
my dewty to my howsehold. But J
haue counsell to eyther of vs moche
2165 more profytable. To morrow vnto
me and my wyfe, prepare our dy-
ner at yowr howse, then and if it be
to souper tyme, we wyll not leyue
of talkynge, vntyll you say that ye
2170 are wery, and if ye wyll at souper
also we wyll not forsake you. Why,
claw you your hede? prepare for vs
in good fayth we wyll come. *Me.* J
had leuer haue no tales at all. Well
2175 go to, you shall haue a dyner, but
vnsauery, except you spyce it with
good & mery tales. *Ogy.* But here
you,

you, are ye not mouyd and styrrede
in your mynde, to take vpon yow
these pylgremages? *Me.* Perauen- 2180
ture it wyll sett me a fyre, after ye
haue told me the resydew, as J am
now mynded, J haue enough to do
with my statyons of Rome. *Ogy.*
Of Rome, that dyd neuer see Ro- 2185
me?. *Me.* J wyll tell you, thus J go
my statyons at home, J go in to the
parler, and J se vnto the chast ly-
uyng of my doughters, agayne
frome thense J go in to my shope, 2190
J beholde what my seruauntes,
bothe men and women be doynge.
Frome thense into the kytchyn, lo-
kyng abowt, if ther nede any of
my cownsell, frome thense hyther 2195
and thyther obseruyng howe my
chylterne be occupied, what my
wyffe dothe, beyng carefull that
euery thyng be in ordre, these be
statyons of Rome. *Ogy.* But the- 2200
se thynges saynt James wold dow
for

for yow. *Mene.* That J shuld se vn-
to these thynges holy scriptu-
re commaundethe, that
2205 J shuld commyt the
charge to sayntes
J dyd rede yt
neuer com-
maun-
2210 ded.

† God saue the kynge †

2212 FINIS.

✻ ✻ ✻ † ✻ ✻ ✻

Fol. 49 v. PYLGREMAGE OF... DEUOTYON.

IV

DIVERSORIA

ONE DIALOGUE
OR COLLOQUYE
ENTITULED
DIVERSORIA

1566

C One Dialogue. or

Colloquye of *Erasmus* (entituled *Diuersoria*) Translated
out of Latren into Englyshe: And
Imprynted, to the ende that the Iudgemēt
of the Learned maye be hadde
befoze the Translator procede in thereste.

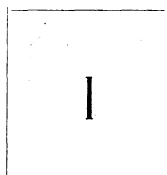
By C.H.



C Imprynted at London in Fleetstreete, at the
signe of the Faucon by William Giff-
syth, and are to be solde at his Shop
in S. Dunstons Churchpaty
in the west.

1566

¶ The Translator to the
indifferent reader.



F J were throughlye perswaded
(gētle reader) y^t mine attempt of the
learned were in all points allowed 5
and the order in my translation cor-
respondent thereunto, J woulde at
this present proceede in mine enterprise, with en-
tent by gods helpe to finishe the translation of
the whole boke : But because J am vnlearned & 10
therefore must not be mine owne iudge therein, J
geue the here a tast of my store for proofof mine
abilitie : desiring the at the least wise not to be
offended at the same so boldly attem-
ted and simplye perfourmed, 15
For sithe mine entent is
good, & my good
wil not small
J dare
at this present yelde 20
it to thy curte-
sy . Fare
wel.

¶ Thine in will (though not in
power) E . H . 25

¶ The speakers.

¶ Bertulphe. William.

30

W

Hy haue men taken suche pleasure
and felicity (J pray you) in tariynge
ii. or iii. dayes at Lions together,
when they trauaile through the con-
trey : if J fall to trauailinge once, be
fore suche time as J be come vnto my iourneyes
ende, me thinks J am neuer at quiet in my mind.

35

William.

¶ Say ye so in deede : And J put you out of
doubt, J wonder howe men can bee withdrawen
thence againe, after they be once come thether.

Bertulphe.

40

¶ yea doe : And how so J pray you :

William.

Mary sir because that is the verye place from
whence Ulisses companions coulde in no wise be
gotten by perswasion. There are the sweet Mer-
45 maides (that are spoken of) J warrant ye. Assu-
redlie, no man is better vsed at home at his own
house then a guest is entertained there in a com-
mon Jnne.

Bertulphe.

50

Why? What is their order and vsage there :

William.

Some woman or other did alwayes attende
vpon the table to cheere the company with plea-
saunt talke and prety conceites. And J tell you
55 the women are meruailous bewtiful and wel fa-
uoured there. Firste of all the good wife of the
house came & welcomed vs, praying vs all there

¶. i.

to

to bee merye, and to take well in woorth the suche
poore cheere as shee ha dde prouided : when shee
was gone , in commeth her Daughter (beeinge'a 60
verye proper woman) and tooke her roome : also
whose behaioure and tongue were so pleasaunt
and delectable, that she was able to make euen
the grimme Sire Cato to bee merye and laugh,
and besyde that they doe not talke wyth theyr 65
guestes as with men whome they neuer sawe
before, but euen so famylyarlye and freendlye,
as if they were menne that were of their olde ac-
quaintaunce.

Bertulphe.

70

¶ yea, thys is the ciuiltyte of Fraunce in
deede.

William.

¶ And because the Mother and the Daugh-
ter coulde not bee alwayes in the waye (for that 75
they muste goe aboute theyr houssholde busi-
nesse, and welcome their other guestes in other
places) a pretye little minion Girle stode forthe
there by and by (hauinge learned her lirinuppe
and lesson alreadye in all pointes J warraunte 80
you) to make all the pastime that mighte be pos-
sible, and to aunswere (at omnia quare) all such
as shoulde be busye to talke and dally with her,
So shee didde prolonge or vpholde the Enter-
lude, till the goodwifes Daughter came vnto 85
vs againe. For as for the mother she was some-
what stricken in yeres.

Ber

Diuersoria.

Bertulphe.

¶ yea but tell vs what good cheere yee had
90 there (J praye you) for a manne cannot fill his
bellye with pleasaunte talke you knowe well
inoughe.

William.

¶ J promise you faithfullye wee had notable
95 good chere there, in so much that J wonder how
they can entertaine their gwestes so good cheape
as they doe. And then when our table was takē
vp, they fedde oure mindes wyth their merye
deuises, leaste wee shoulde thinke the time very
100 some. Me thought J was euen at home at mine
owne house, and not a trauayler abroad in a
straunge country.

Bertulphe.

And what was the facion in your bed cham
105 bers there :

William.

¶ Why : some wenches went in euerye corner
giggelinge there, playing the wantons, and da-
lying with vs, of their owne motion they would
110 aske whether we had any foule gere to washe or
no. That they washed and brought vs cleane a-
gaine, what should J make a longe proces or cir-
cumstance, we sawe nothinge els there but wen-
ches and women sauinge in the stable. And yet

¶. ii. many

many times they would fetche their vagaries in 115
thether also. When the guestes be going awaye,
they embrace them, and take their leaue sweetlye
with suche kindnes and curtesye, as if they were
all brethren, or (at least) nighe a kinne the one to
the other. 120

Bertulphe.

This behauiour doth well beseme Frenchmen
peraduenture, how be it the fashions of Duche
lande shall go for my monye when all is done,
which are altogether manlike. 125

William.

yt was neuer my chaunce to see the Contreye
yet : and therfore J pray you take so muche paine
as to tell in what sorte they entertaine a straun-
ger with them. 130

Bertulphe.

J am not sure whether it be so in euerye place
or no, but J will not sticke to reherse that whiche
Jhaesene with mine owne eyes. There no man
biddeth him welcome that comes, lest they shuld 135
seme to go about to procure a guest. And that of
all sauces, they accompt a dishonest and beggar
ly thing, and vnmete for their demurenes & gra-
uetie. After you haue stoode cryinge oute at the
doore a good while, at the length some one or o- 140
ther pereth out his hed at the stoue window like
as a snaile should pepe out of his shell : for they
liue ther in stoues, til the somer be almoste in the
Tropick of Cancer. Then must you aske of him,
whether you may haue a lodging there or no? yf 145
he

he do not geue a contrary beck with his hed, you
may perceiue, that you shall haue entertainment
To those whiche aske where aboutes the stable
standes, he pointes vnto it with the wagging of
150 his hand. There maye you vse youre horse after
your own diet, for no seruaunt of the house shall
once lay handes vnto it to help you. But if it bee
an Jnne some what occupied or haunted, thē the
seruaunt sheweth there which is the stable, & tel-
155 leth you also a place where your horse shal stād,
full vnhausomely for that purpose god knoweth
for they reserue the better romes for the after com-
mers, specially for the noble men ,yf you finde a-
ny fault with any thinge, by an by they snub you
160 with this : Sir, if mine Jnne please you not, goe
seeke an other elsewhere in the name of god in ci-
ties, it is longe ere they wil bring you hay forthe
for your horse, and when they do bring it, it is af-
ter a niuer facion J warraunt you, and yet will
165 they aske asmuch mony of you for it (in a maner)
as if it were Otes. After your horse is once dres-
sed you come with all your cariage into the stoue
with Bootes, Male, or Packe, and with Dirte,
Bag and Baggage and all. Euery man is vsed
170 to this generally.

William.

Jn Fraunce they haue certaine chaumbers for
the nonce, where guests may put of their clothes
may wipe or make clean thē selues , may warme
175 them selues : yea may take their ease to, if they bee
so disposed.

¶. ii.

Ber

Bertulphe.

¶ yea, but here is no suche facions J tel you
Jn the stoue, you pul of youre Bootes, you pull
on youre Shooes, you chaunge youre Shirt if 180
you bee so minded, you hange vp youre clothes
all weate, with raine harde by the Chimney, and
to make youre selfe drye doe stande by the same
your selfe, you haue also water sette readye for
your handes, which moste commonly is so clen- 185
lye, that you muste after seeke other water, to
washe of that water againe.

William.

¶ J commende them as menne not corrupted
with to much finenesse or daintinesse. 190

Bertulphe.

¶ Thoughe it be youre chauce to come the-
ther aboute iiii. of the clocke at afternoone, yet
shall you not go to supper for all that vntill it be
nine of the clocke at night, and sometime not be- 195
fore tenne.

William.

¶ How so :

Bertulphe.

¶ They make nothinge ready til they see all 200
their guesstes come in, that they may serue them
all vnder one without more adoe.

William.

¶ These men seeke the neerest way to woorke,
J see wel. 205

Bertulphe.

you say true in deede : They doe so, and there-
fore

fore often times there come all into one Stooe,
lxxx. or xc. Footemen, Horsemen, Marchaunt-
210 men, Mariners, Carters, Plowemen, Children,
Wemen, hole and sicke.

William.

¶ Marye this is a communitye of lyfe in
deede.

215

Bertulphe.

¶ One kembes his head there. An other doth
rubbe of his sweat there. An other maketh cleane
his startops or bootes there. An other belcks out
hys Garlicke there. What needes manye wor-
220 des : There is as muche mingle mangle of par-
sons there , as was in the old time at the Towre
of Babell. And if they chaunce to see a straun-
ger amonge them , whiche in his apparell semeth
somewhat braue, galaunt and gentlemanlike,
225 they all stand prying vpon him with their eyes,
gasing and gapinge as if some straunge beaste
were brought them out of Aphrick, in so much as
after they are once set, they be eye him stil an end
and neuer looke of, as men forgetting thē selues
230 that they be now at supper.

William.

At Rome, at Parise ,and at Uenice ,no mā ma-
keth any such wonderment at all.

Bertulphe.

235

Nowe it is a sore matter J tell you to call for
ought there al this while : when it is farre night
and they looke for no more gwestes at that time,
then commeth forthe an olde stager of the house,
with

with a gray beard, a polled hed , a frowning cou-
tenaunce, clad in il fauored apparaile. 240

William.

yea mary suche fellowes as these you speak of,
should fill the Cardinals cups at Rome.

Bertulphe.

¶ He casting his eyes about, reckoneth vnto 245
him selfe howe manye therebe in the stoue at all,
the moe he seeth there, the greater he maketh his
fire, though the sonne beside doth greatly annoy
with his perching heat. Among them, this is ac-
coumpted the principallest pointe of good enter- 250
tainment, if they all sweat like Bulles, that they
doe euen drop again. But if one not vsed to this
choking and smotheringe ayre, should chaunce
to open but a chinke of the window to keepe him
self from stifeling, he should by and by haue this 255
saied vnto him : Shut it J pray you, if you aun-
swere that you canne not abide it, ye haue this in
your nose for your labor, why : then go seeke you
an other Junne, on gods name.


William.

260

But me thinkes there can be no greater daun-
ger for health, then that so many should drawe in
and out all one vapour : specially when the body
is in a sweat, and in this same place to eat meate
together, and to tarye together a great while in 265
company, for now J wil not speak of belchinges
that sauour of garlick, nor of fistinge, or fisseling
nor of stinking breths, many there be (J tel you)
that haue priuy diseases, and euery desease hath
his

270 his proper infection. And surely the moste of the
haue the spanishe scabbe, or as some terme it the
frenche pockes : thoughe now adaies one nation
hathe it commonlye asmuche as an other. J sup-
pose (J tel you) that there is as great ieobardye
275 in companyng with these as it is with lepers,
and nowe gesse you howe mucche difference is be-
twene this and the pestilence :

Bertulphe.

 Tushe man they bee stoute fellowes : they
280 doe scorne theise thinges, and make as it were
no accompt of them.

William.

But yet they are stout with hazardinge of ma-
ny a mannes helth J tell you plainly.

285 Bertulphe.

¶ Why : What should a man do : They haue
thus vsed them selues euermore, and it is a to-
ken of constancy and stabilitie neuer to varye or
geue ouer that whiche they haue once taken in
290 hand.

William.

But aboue twentye yeeres agone, there was
nothings more vsed amonge the Brabanders,
then the common Bathes. And now adaies, the
295 same are laied a side euery where : for this straūg
scabbe (J speake of) hathe taught men to come
no more thether.

Bertulphe.

But go toe : Harken to the rest of my tale that
300 is behind. That grim bearded Ganimede coms
C. i. to

to vs afterwarde againe, and layeth as many
tables as he then thinkes will serue for the nom-
ber of his gwestes , But Lord , what baggage
are the tabie clothes : if you saw them J dare say
you would think them hēpen cloths, that are ta- 305
ken from the sailes of ships: they be so course, for
he hath apointed that viii. guests shall sit at one
table at the least. Nowe, those that are acquain-
ted with the facion of the country, doe sit downe
euery man, where he listeth him selfe, for there is 310
no diuersitie or cursye J tell you there, betweene
the poore man and the riche, betweene the Mas-
ter and his seruaunt. They are all one. One as
good as an othec, there is heere (as they say) no
difference betwene the shepherd and his dog. 315

William.

yea marye : this is the olde facion when all is
done, that Tiranny hath now abolished and put
away from amōg vs : J think Christ liued iump
after this maner on the earth when he was here 320
couersaunt with his Apostles.

Bertulphe.

After they be all set, in commeth the frowning
minion againe, and once more falleth to reckon
what company he hathe there : by and by retour- 325
ning, he layeth euery one a trencher, and a spon
of the same siluer : and then after that, hee setteth
downe a drinkinge glasse and within a while
brings

Diuersoria.

bringes in bread which euery manne (at leysure)
330 chippeth and pareth for him selfe, whiles the po-
tage is a sethinge. They sit mopinge after thys
manner, otherwhiles a whole houre together;
ere they can get any thinge to eate.

William.

335 Why : Doe none of the guestes call earnest-
lye vpon them to haue in the Supper all this
while :

Bertulphe.

¶ No, none of them all that knowes the
340 facion of the countrye. At the laste they are ser-
ued with Wyne : but youe woulde wonder to see
what small geare it is, Scoole men or Sophis-
ters shoulde drinke none other by myne aduise,
because it is so thinne and tarte : how bee it if a
345 guest shoulde chaunce (beside his shotte) to of-
fer Monye to one, and desyre him to gette some
better Wyne thenne that some other where, be-
cause he lykes it not : they firste make as though
they hearde him not : but yet they bee eye hym
350 with suche a bigge an frowning countenance
as if the Deuyll should loke ouer L J N C O L N
(as they doe saye) Jf you will not linne callinge
vppon them, thenne they make youe this aun-
swere . So many E A R L E S and M A R -
355 Q U E S E S , haue lodged here in our house, &
C. ii. yet

yet the time is yet to come, that euer they founde
any fault with our wine. And therefore if ye fan-
cy it not, get ye packing in the name of God, and
seeke an other Jnne where ye liste. For they ac-
compt great men and noble men for men onely 360
in their contrye J tell you, setting their armes a-
broade in euery corner of their house for a shewe,
Now by this time they are serued with a soupe,
to alay and pacify their pore hongry and crook-
ling stomackes, well nigh loste for meat, hard at 365
the heeles of that comes forth the dishes with
greate ceremonie, pompe or solemnitie. For the
firste course they haue soppes or slices of bread,
soaked in fleshe brothe, or if it be a fishe daye, in
the brothe of pulce. Then nexte they haue an o- 370
ther brothe : and after that they are serued wyth
fleshe twise sod, or fishe twise het. And yet, after
this, they haue potage once againe, immediatly
after, they haue some stiffer meate til suche time
as they world beinge well amended with them, 375
they set roste on the table, or sodde freshe fishe,
whiche a man can not all together mislike. But
when it comes to that once they make spare and
whip it away at a sodaine J warraunt you, they
facion out euery thinge in his dew time & place. 380
And as the players of Enterludes or comedies,
are wonte in their Scenes, to entermedle theyr
Chories, so doe these Duche men serue forth to
their guests, Soppes and Potage enterchañge
ably or by course. But they prouide that the lat- 385
ter inde of the feast be best furnished.

Wil-

Diuersoria.

William.

And this (J tell you) is the poynte of a good
Poet.

390

Bertulphe.

Besides this it were a sore offenee for one all
this while to say : Away with this dishe, no man
doth eat of it, here you must sit out your time ap-
pointed, being so euen and iumpe, that J thinke
395 they measure it oute by some water clockes. At
lēgth that bearded Grimson comes forth againe
or els the Jnholder him selfe, litle or nothing dif-
fering from his seruauntes in his apparaile and
brauery. He asketh what cheere is with vs : by &
400 by some stronger wine is brought, and they caste
a great loue to him that drinketh lustely : wher-
as he payes no more money that drinketh moste
then he, that drinketh least.

William.

405 J put you out of doubt, it is a wonderful na-
ture of the country.

Bertulphe.

yea, this doe they in deede : whereas there bee
sometime there, that drink two times somuche in
410 wine, as they paye in all for the shot. But before
J doe make an end of this Supper, it is a won-
derful thing to tell what noise and iangeling of
tongues there is, after they begin all to bee well
whitled with wine. What shoulde J neede manye
415 wordes : All things there haue lost their hearing
and are becomdeafe . And many times disguised
patches or coxecomes doe come amonge them to

C. iii.

make

make sporte : whiche kinde of men, altho ughe
of all other it be most to be abhorred , yet you wil
scant beleue howe muche the Germaines are de- 420
lighted with them . They keepe like a coile with
their singinge, theire chatting, their hoopinge
and hallowinge, theire praunsinge, theire boun-
singe, that the Stoooue seemeth as if it woulde
fall downe vpon their heds, and none can heare 425
what an other saith. And yet all thys while they,
perswade them selues, that they liue as well as
hearte canne thinke, or, as the day is broad and
longe to.

William.

430

¶ Wel nowe make an ende of this Supper,
J pray : for J am weary of so tedious a Supper
my selfe to.

Bertulphe.

¶ So J will . At the laste when the cheese is 435
ones taken vp, whiche scantly pleaseth their ap-
tite , onlesse it craule ful of magots, that old Si-
nicoxe comes forth againe, bringinge with hym
a meate Trenchoure in his hande , vpon the
whiche with chalke he hath made certaine run- 440
delles and halfe rundelles : that same he layeth
downe vpon the table, loking very demurelye &
sadlye all the while. They that are acquainted
with those markes or skoares, doe laye downe
their monye, after them an other, then another, 445
vntill suche time as the trenchoure bee couered,
then

then markinge those whiche layed downe anye
thinge , he counteth or maketh reckening softly
vnto him selfe : if he misse nothing of that which
450 the reckeninge comes to, hee maketh a becke or
dieugard with his hed.

William.

¶ What if theer be any ouerplus there :

Bertulphe.

455 ¶ Peraduenture he woulde giue it them a-
gaine, and some whiles they doe so, if it strike in-
their braines.

William.

¶ And is there none that speaketh againste
460 this vnegall reckening :

Bertulphe.

¶ No, none that hathe any witte in his head,
for by and by they woulde saye thus vnto hym.
What kinde of man arte thou : J tell thee thou
465 thou shalt paye no more for thy Supper heere,
then other men do.

William.

¶ Marye this kinde of people is franke and
free J see wel.

470 Bertulphe.

¶ But if one (beeing werye with trauaile)
should desire to go to bed as soone as Supper
is done , they will him tarye , till all the other go
to bed to.

475 William.

¶ Me thinkes J se Platoes common welth
heere.

Ber-

Erasmi.

Bertulphe.

Then euerye mannes Cabin is shewed him, &
in deede , nothinge elles but a bare chaumber for 480
all that is there, is but beddes, and the Deuill a
whit there is else beside there, eyther to occupye
or els to steale.

William.

There is neatnesse or clenlinesse J warraunt 485
you.

Bertulphe.

yea by roode, euen suche as was at the Sup-
per. The Sheetes peraduenture were washed 490
halfe a yeere before.

William.

And how fayres your horses all this while.

Bertulphe.

They are vsed after the same rate that the mē
bee. 495

William.

But is this maner of entertainment in euery
place there :

Bertulphe.

Jn some place it is more curteous, in some 500
place againe , it is more currishe then J haue
made rehersall , howbeit generallye it is euen af-
ter this order.

William.

What would you say if J should now tell you 505
how straingers are entreated in that part of Jta
ly which they call Lōbardy, and againe inspaine
howe they be vsed, and how in Englande and in
Wales, for Englishe men in conditions are halfe
Frenche

Diuersoria.

510 Frenche , halfe Dutche as men indifferente be-
tweene both. Of theise two contries, Welche men
say that they are the right Brittaines first inha-
biting the land.

Bertulphe.

515 ¶ Mary J pray thee hartely tell me, for it was
neuer my fortune to trauaile into them.

William.

¶ Nay, J haue no laysure nowe at this time,
for the Mariner bad me bee with him at three of
520 the clock, except J would be left behinde, and he
hath a Packette of mine. Another time wee shall
haue laysure enough to tell of these thinges our
bellies full.



TEXTUAL NOTES

Orthography and Punctuation.

Like all writings of the xvith century, the early translations of Erasmus' Colloquies show a great variety of forms occurring one next to the other, especially for words frequently used ¹⁾. That difference in spelling is in many cases due to the compositors, who in order to 'justify' the lines, shortened or lengthened their texts ²⁾, being free to choose, e. g., between *i*, *ie* and *y*, sometimes *igh*; *u*, *uu* and *ow* ³⁾, *e* (Middle English long open *e* : *ē*) and *ea*; *o* (Middle English long open *o* : *ō*), *ow* and *oa* ⁴⁾; they could double a consonant ⁵⁾; add or drop a final *e*, irrespective of the quantity of the preceding syllable ⁶⁾; join words ⁷⁾ or cut them up according to the requirements

¹⁾ Some are spelt in four or five ways in one Colloquy : e. g., *house*, *housse*, *hows*, *howse*, *hawse*, *howsse* (PD, 27, 806, 822, 824, 826, 977, &c.); — *their*, *theyr*, *thayr*, *thayre*, *there*, *ther*; &c.

²⁾ Cp. McKerrow, 11, 246-9; Delcourt, 100.

³⁾ E. g., *byte*, *bite*; — *hye*, *highe*, *hie*, also *heighe*; — *light*, *leight*; — *you*, *yow*; &c.

⁴⁾ *fere*, *feare*; — *stele*, *steyle*, *steale*; — *ears*, *eares*, *eyares*; — *brode*, *broad*; — *dore*, *dowr*; similarly *oe*, *oo*, *ou*, *ow* : *shoe*, *shoo*, *show*; *poer*, *pour*; — *u*, *ue*, *ew*, *eu*, *we* (after *l* and *r*) : *true*, *trwe*, *treu*, *trew*; — *look*, *luke*. Cp. Delcourt, 120-2.

⁵⁾ E. g., *mice*, *mysse* (PD, 486); *moke*, *mocke*, *mokke*; *leue*, *leuue*, *lefe*; *fette* (= *feet* : PD, 1258, 1306); *holy*, *holly*; *her*, *here*, *herre*; also PD, 947, 1736, &c.; cp. Kaluza, 205; Franz, 7.

⁶⁾ E. g., *men*, *mene* (PD, 1804); *made*, *mayde*, *mad* (PD, 1701); *them*, *theme* (PD, 97); cp. Luick, I, 90.

⁷⁾ E. g., article and noun; negation or *to* and verb; auxiliary and verb; verb and adverb; &c. : *aman*, *thapostile*; *tobe*, *wyl-nat*; *shalbe*; *setforthe*, *putto*; — *atones*, *asmuch*; &c.

of the case ¹⁾). Others of these seemingly inconsistencies are the consequences of the greater or smaller amounts of type available in the printing office : this evidently accounts for the capital letters of a different fount occurring in the *Two Dialoges* ²⁾), as well as for the Roman capital Y in the black-letter text of the *Pylgremage* ³⁾); it also influenced the orthography in this Colloquy, which on that account can be divided into two parts : one, from l. 236 to about l. 1675 is characterized by a liberal use of *y* in the endings of verbs and nouns, and even in unstressed syllables : *nedyth*, *garnysshed*, *wallys*, *euyn*, &c.; the words *rursum* and *adversus* are translated by *ayen* and *ayenst* ⁴⁾); whereas from l. 1675 to the end, and in the preface (ll. 1-235), which apparently is posterior to the Colloquy itself, an *e* predominates in such endings : *nedeth*, *garnysshed*, *walles*, *euen*, and the forms *again* and *against* replace *ayen* and *ayenst*. Nor is it likely that the different spelling of such words in the two parts of that Colloquy should be due to a different compositor; for in that case the discrepancy should extend to other letters, and all antiquated forms would certainly have been avoided, whereas the orthography of the end and of the preface is the same as that of the beginning ⁵⁾); the only exception is the negation, which, up to l. 1675, occurs generally as

¹⁾ E. g., *man murderer*; *a myss*; *in to*; *a bowt*; *withe out*; &c.

²⁾ Cp. pp. xxv-xxvi.

³⁾ This Roman capital Y appears repeatedly from l. 341 to l. 2105; a lower-case *y* is used for a capital on l. 355.

⁴⁾ Cp. *PD*, 248, 319, 425, &c. to 1538.

⁵⁾ An instance is furnished by the variety of forms in which the *ē* derived from Middle Engl. open *ē* (*ē*) is written : the special way or ways in which it is represented, is or are adhered to throughout the Colloquy.

nat, and from l. 1675 to the end predominates as *not* ¹⁾).

The ultimate reason of these varying ways of spelling, evidently was the growing change in the pronunciation with which writers and printers involuntarily tried to keep pace. It explains the presence of old forms (such as *apon*, *nat*, *other*, &c.), which still kept their hold on the language ²⁾, as also of the newer ones, and even of some bold innovations such as *enuffe* and *thoffe*, which occur next to *enoghe* and *thoghe* in the *Pylgremage* ³⁾. The apparent desire of making the writing of words correspond with the way they were spoken, gives a great value to the texts of those empiric phonetists, as it provides data for the history of the development of the English sounds at that momentous period. Thus the sound derived from the Middle English long and open *e* (*ē*) is represented by an *e*, generally in open syllables; also by *ea*, in order to distinguish it from that which is developed from Middle English long closed *e* (*ē*); the use of this *ea*, which is introduced in the xvith century ⁴⁾, is seen to extend as time goes on, in so much that there is a considerable difference in that respect between the text of the *Pylgremage* and that

¹⁾ From l. 236 to l. 1675 *nat* is used 84 times, *not* 11 times; from l. 1675 to the end *nat* occurs 6 times, *not* 28 times; the preface has only *not* (8 times).

²⁾ These forms occur most frequently in *PD*. Cp. Kaluza, 204; Luyck, I, 90; Franz, 2-5.

³⁾ *PD*, 324, 331, 376, 1990; — *thorowowt*, *thorowe* : *PD*, 22, 230, 1056, 2113, &c.; *throw* : *MD*, 336; cp. Delcourt, 100, 105.

⁴⁾ Luyck, I, 91; Kaluza, 208, 248; *Shak. Phon.*, 34. — The parallel form for Middle English long open *o*, *oa*, is here only found in *Diuersoria*, where it occurs 5 times (*D*), 101, 362, 369, 428, 444). Cp. Delcourt, 101.

of the *Diuersoria* ¹⁾. The same sound is also represented occasionally by *ey* and *ay*, which alternate with *e* and *ea* ²⁾, whereas words, which regularly have *ay* or *ai* (from Anglo-Saxon *-ege-*), are written also with *e* or *ea* ³⁾ : it implies that at some time in that century, and for some words at least, there was a similar sound ⁴⁾. The *ea* is only used exceptionally before final dental stops, which are often doubled ⁵⁾ : it suggests that shortening, recorded for a later period, had already partly set in. It is only natural that the early translations of Erasmus' Colloquies should show these and all other changes in pronouncing and spelling, which were then operating ⁶⁾, as well as that

¹⁾ In the *Pylgremage* (1536-1537) there are 31 forms with *e* (occasionally *ee*) on a hundred (besides four with *ey* and *ay*); in *Diuersoria* (1566) there are only 14. The *Mery Dialogue* (1557) still has 28 on a hundred, whereas in the *Two Dyaloges* (1549) the percentage is reduced to 23. — Cp. Delcourt, 106, 115, 123.

²⁾ In the *Pylgremage* the digraphs *ey* and *ay* are used for that sound in 4 cases out of a hundred : in that Colloquy occur such forms as *stelynge*, *steyle* and *stayl* (PD, 689, 1939, 1965); *bayre* (Lat. *ursus* : PD, 830); *wayre* (= wear : PD, 736); *see* and *seye* (Lat. *mare* : PD, 294, 632, &c.); *feare*, *ferē* and *ʃayre* (PD, 131); *leuythe* and *leyue* (= leave : PD, 415, 2168); *meanes* and *meaynes* (PD, 1758); *eares* and *eyares* (PD, 386). Also in *Two Dyaloges* : *weyke* (= weak : TD, 449); *gleyne* (= glean : TD, 831). — As to *ay* = *a*, *ā*, cp. MD, 856; PD, 902, 1097, 1183, 1608, &c.

³⁾ E. g., *seale*, next to *sayl* (= sail : PD, 1934); &c.

⁴⁾ Cp. *Shak. Phon.*, 42; Jespersen, 33-9, 75 : the *ay* and *ey* probably had next to the value of the diphthong [æi] also that of a long open *e*, [æ̃] or [ē], which explains Shakespeare's rimes : sea & play; hairs & tears (cp. *heyre*, *heren*, viz., of hair, in PD, 1590, 1591); and Jasper Heywood's [1559] : sea & dea (= day), waye, staye, delaye; meane & againe; appayse (= appease) & prayse; repeare (= repair) & feare; &c. (*Jasp. Heyw. : Troas*, 298, 432, 468, 750, 758, 934, 1062, 1116, 2100; *Herc.*, 2315, &c.).

⁵⁾ E. g., *hed*, *hedde* (PD, 89, 290, 711, 1258, 1478, &c.); *D*, 141, 239, &c.); *breths* (D, 268); *sted* (PD, 1834); [*het* (D, 372)]; *swette*, *swett* (PD, 1665, 1903). Cp. Kaluza, 249; *Shak. Phon.*, 37.

⁶⁾ E. g., the development of short *e* before *rr* or *r* + consonant

unsettledness which necessarily results from all unconscious developments, notwithstanding the efforts of authors and publishers to bring about some consistency and regularity.

That natural tendency manifests itself in the *Two Dyaloges* of 1549, and in the *Diuersoria* of 1566; these texts are set with care ¹⁾, and show a comparatively uniform orthography, or at any rate, more accuracy and correctness than the two others. Especially the *Pylgremage*, of 1536/1537, offers a great variety of spelling; it has retained some Middle English forms next to new ones ²⁾, and it even introduces others which apparently were very short lived ³⁾. The same freedom prevails in the *Mery Dialogue*, printed in 1557, of which the orthography is undoubtedly much older than the issue. Although in the xvith cen-

into *a* : *marcy*; *derk* and *dark*; *ferre*, *fere* and *farre* (PD, 433, 538, 578, 938, 1305; TD, 1017); — *hart*- (PD, 792); cp. Luick, I, 477; Kaluza, 245; Delcourt, 104-127; that of Middle English long and closed *e* (*ē*) into *ī* : *greue*, *grief*; *theffe*, *theue*, *thief*; cp. *chef*, *chyefe*; *perse*, *pierce*; the introduction of an intrusive *l* in the past tense *coude* : *cowld* (PD, 1685; MD, 781; Kaluza, 352); the interchanging of short *i* and *e*, and even *u* (*lefte*, *lyfte* : TD, 383; *sterre*, *stirre* : MD, 327; *iuellys* : PD, 1793; *yis*, *yes* : PD, 1192; *shute*, *shite* : PD, 499). Cp. *gest*- & *geste* : PD, 1460, 2155; &c.

¹⁾ The misprints are comparatively scarce in these two Colloquies; and the punctuation is regular, except for a few periods or commas wrongly placed or left out — or not clearly printed off; the type of the *Diuersoria* is indistinct in many places: some letters (*s*, *t* & *l*; *r* & *c*) are difficult to be identified.

²⁾ E. g., *nat*, *apon*, *awne*; *other* and *nother* (Middle English : *oðer*, *noðer*; cp. *Shak. Phon.*, 39; Jespersen, 29, 76, 78), next to *not*, *upon*, *owne*; *ether*, *eyther*, *nether* (cp. PD, 637, 680, 867, 890, 1236, 1307, 2164, &c.; MD, 807).

³⁾ E. g., besides *enuffe*, *thorow*, *thoffe* (PD, 324, 1990, 2113), forms such as *eyares* next to *eares*; *dyasse*, *dyesse*, *dyasser*, next to *dyce* (PD, 386, 422-5, 1395, 1797); *sawdyers* (PD, 465); &c.; other words occur in their older forms, e. g., *quere* (for choir : PD, 488, 1552, 1555); *yerthe* (= earth : PD, 1574); &c.

tury the compositor generally represented the author's thoughts in his own spelling ¹⁾), he must have been influenced here by the printed book to be reproduced : he probably will have mechanically set up the word in that of its several forms which he saw before his eyes; or at any rate, if he perchance used an older one, he will have refrained from correcting it. A comparison between the two, as good as identical, texts of the tale of the Dumb Wife, supplies an ample proof that the model had its bearing on the spelling of the second issue ²⁾ : indeed, except for the form *nat*, which is replaced by *not*, Kytson's English of 1557 is nearly as antiquated as that of the *C. mery Talys* of 1525: the words, to be true, do not always occur in their older forms; still they do so oftener than would have been the case if the compositor had had a manuscript or a more recent issue in front of him ³⁾. A conclusion may thus be drawn in security about the *Dialogue* itself, which, no doubt, owes to the old edition its great variety of spelling and its lack of consistency, the more so as it probably was reprinted in too great a hurry to leave any leisure for consideration or correction.

Punctuation marks were used with quite as much arbitrariness and irregularity : closing, and even opening, brackets are left out; periods occur where notes of interrogation, or even commas, are expected, and commas, where in similar sentences semicolons or periods are placed; very often the marks fail altogether.

¹⁾ McKerrow, 246-249.

²⁾ There is between the two texts the difference of *i*'s and *y*'s used one for another, and of final *e*'s added or dropped.

³⁾ Thus *ea* represents Middle English long open *e* only 14 times on 21 cases in the text of 1557, against 4 on 21 in that of 1525, which gives a percentage of 33 for *e* : cp. p. 224, *n* ¹.

On account of that freedom in the spelling, the following lists of textual notes contain merely the doubtful and irregular readings ¹⁾ besides the misprints; and the punctuation marks in as far only as they themselves, or their absence, interfere with the sense; suggested corrections are placed between square brackets []; whereas those cases in which words, seem to have been omitted, are dealt with in the *Explanatory Notes* ²⁾.

I. — TWO DYALOGES

38 employed	513 shat (<i>read that</i>)
116 tassils (ss <i>indistinct</i>)	629 rŭne, [—]
119 wery	665 Poliphe [— .]
147 suche (<i>read such</i>)	711 pasle (<i>in the London copy;</i>
255 greate (<i>read great</i>)	<i>in that of Cambridge :</i>
283 sayut	<i>passe which read</i>)
308 Polphe	752 thy [they]
312 sophystryar	761 peophe (<i>read people</i>)
316 ma n	792 preposterours
372 waye	809 shuld (<i>in the London</i>
375 trouthe [— ;]	<i>copy; in that of Cam-</i>
387 prayer [— ;]	<i>bridge : shhuld</i>)
440 inough (<i>read inoughe</i>)	822 Boni [— .]
444 vnderstand [-stande(n)]	852 scaselye
452 Poli ,	871 Bea [— .]
462 snperfluous	887 he [be]
474 Polyphemns	985 cōmuuely
478 God (<i>read god</i>)	1045 is he of?
495 welfauardly	1062 gentylnan

¹⁾ Only those forms of words are recorded which are not mentioned in the *NED*.

²⁾ Mistakes and misprints made in the reproduction of these five colloquies have been entered in the following lists, and set up in a larger type.

II. — A MERY DIALOGUE

5 semeis	321 vice [— ;]
14 sylke [— ;]	325 aswel [a wel]
15 is [— ;]	331 Eula, (<i>the comma is indistinct; read — .</i>)
24 you [— ;]	333 for borne
25 him [— ,]	345 thyne [myne]
40 buenes (<i>probably read</i> <i>quenes</i>)	345 aquented
54 sloyne (<i>possibly read</i> <i>slouyne or swyne</i>)	351 mother [mothers (<i>as the</i> <i>catchword reads</i>)]
59 doest dishonesteth	352 countre) [—]
63 Eulali (<i>indist. mark : — .</i>)	352 hawke [— .]
69 scilence	368 paynfull, [—]
74 womā ;	380 so [<i>prob. to</i>]
88 Eulali (<i>read Eulali.</i>)	393 fautes [— ;]
102 church [— ;]	405 whē be [whē he]
117 he [— ?]	416 the [— ,]
127 Neighbour. xantip. [— — ,]	420 mind [— ;]
130 agayne [— :]	440 alone [— ;]
130 acq nayntaunce	462 you ? [— ,]
131 fro (<i>read frō</i>)	487 plate [— ;]
134 Elaly [Eulaly.]	492 fayued [fayned]
144 taken [haue (<i>or a</i>) taken]	493 her [his]
158 it, [—]	510 vp [— ;]
164 ap/tite	512 part (<i>a indistinct</i>)
168 were [where]	518 end [— :]
173 other [— ;]	522 y e
178 raylinges [— ;]	524 vnknowē [—]
183 fo [so]	535 husbaude
201 true [— .]	543 witchcraft
210 byshrwed	545 her, (<i>comma indistinct</i>)
224 hadlynges	552 be [by]
225 wyldnes, [—]	575 on [an]
232 there [these]	586 and (<i>read &</i>)
232 thynges. [— ,]	587 sayde [say]
250 Elali.	593 his [is]
257 physnamy	612 hufbandes
295 wordes [— ;]	615 expelseth
308 say [— .]	617 mynde [—]

618 bi [— ;]	770 berene [bereue]
624-5 y ^t at / that at (<i>printed twice by mistake</i>)	770 ryghtwylt [ryght; wylt]
634 whome [(—)]	773 haste..
635 (hath [—])	773-6 Beside &c. to wyllers (<i>printed twice by mistake</i>)
651 wytchraft	780 Thē [Then] forget not thē [them]
669 hardely	800 al redy (<i>catchword all</i>)
674 y ^e [y ^u]	806 alway / es
681 yesterdaie [—.]	807 pinnes [— ;]
682-3 hym. Jt [hym, it]	812 thē where
688 gusband	823 lossee [losse]
698 to [— : (cp. Notes)]	831 it or [it : or]
718 kyssynge [—.]	836 fages
726 agayn	841 handell
731 behalf [— ;]	846 him (<i>read him.</i>)
761 ordeined [—.]	847 pupose
763 man [— ;]	849 wyll [—.]
767 bodies [—:]	

Tale of the Dumb Wife (MD, 850-913)

Collation with the text of A C. MERY TALYS (= CMT)

¶ Of the man that had the dome wyfe. lx. ¹⁾

856 sayd] sadde CMT	899 speaketb
859 wyfe. There] wyfe, there CMT	900 more werier] more wery CMT
861 heuynesse] — ; CMT	901 was when] was before, whan CMT
865 (therfore] — , GMT	907 Al beyet] All be it yet CMT
865 thus)] — : CMT	911 the mooste] the more CMT
869 morowe] — . CMT	913 speakyng.]CMTcontinues:
879 thy] your CMT	By thys tale ye may note, that a man ofte tymes desyreth and coueteth moche that thyng, that ofte turneth to his dis- pleasure.
379 waking] wakenynge CMT	
885 so muche at] so moche, that at CMT	
890 alone] abrode CMT	
892 hym the sayde &a. to l. 900 : ... that J am] this passage is missing in CMT	

Colophon

916 disposers

919 yearde

¹⁾ W. C. Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books* : London, 1864 : I, 87.

III. — Y^e PYLGREIMAGE

6 artifycall	585 (<i>margin</i>) abe-/ste
27 therbe	593 Monkes [— .]
38 vnryghtswe [vnryghts- wyse]	594 (<i>margin</i>) loke. (<i>read</i> loke,)
40 bycause, [—]	615 goregious
43 Incentiously	619 be of the (<i>indistinct</i> ¹)
66 god. [— :]	623 te
71 absorped	667 religyō (ō <i>indistinct</i> ¹)
72 venge. / annce	689 t hay
93 bokes (b <i>indistinct</i> ¹)	705 a bowte
101 judgmegt	743 plyte
154 ofh is	756 Ogy, [— .]
155 commens. [— ,]	780 iij, [— .]
163 documenth	791 v ery
165 accustome [— d]	792 he de ake
185 do ¹)	811 y ^t (<i>indistinct</i> ¹)
200 prayse ([—])	834 argumēte [— ;]
210 <i>Desiderius</i>	871 me [my]
213 Englishhe	876 mothcr
220 obaye, [—],	893 surplese
289 tought	922 wha t
305 chaunche	943 desyryd (<i>read</i> de- syred)
315 heres	946 wōtyd (ō <i>indistinct</i>)
319 y ^t [y ^e]	951 gently [— ;]
320 fromhe nsforthe	953 la dy
355 lady, [— .]	953 (<i>catchword</i>) after
386 eyares	954 y ^t (<i>indistinct</i> ¹)
393 (<i>margin</i>) desirus	967 grea, / te
413 thet	971 stryke
422 dyasser (cp. <i>PD</i> , 1395, 1797)	1000 thy that [the that]
445 oldman & saythe	1004 spirytuallly (2 nd l <i>indis-</i> <i>tinct</i>)
450 (<i>catchword</i>) : sa ythe	1009 offeryuge
500 heuyngates	1018 di- / scoregyd
512 myschef-/ues	
523 know [— ;]	
572 prospayre	

¹) These words are indistinct as the upper part has been cut off, the paper being badly cropped : cp. p. lviii.

1022	Ogy..	1624	greuofly [greuosly]
1028	susspecte	1634	aftrewarde
1040	Alldryge	1646	thought [— .]
1048	place. [— .]	1646	there ? / fore
1059	Cōstantynenople	1647	axyd, [—]
1074	Croeseus	1659	myd-/gle
1100	commyth [commyt]	1675	acquyntede
1126	gra/tyd(<i>read</i> gra/tyd)	1676	Gwyllyame
1131	Canaidus	1680	syngler
1132	altoghe	1689	behyndethe
1139	elyke	1731	sukkre [= succour]
1182	tha ym	1740	necessiye
1186	hym	1799	thense. Fyrst [thense, fyrst]
1203	vuderstond	1807	me thynket
1221	maysters ? [— .]	1840	reuennes
1287	so / so (<i>ditography</i>)	1859	mnltitude
1308	Laten. The [Laten, the]	1860	gowse
1332	tdde [tode]	1868	prynces /. <i>Me.</i>
1337	trewe. But [trewe, but]	1889	showede (o & 1 st e <i>indist.</i>)
1339	eye , [—]	1910	acquayntenance
1343	An do	1917	synge [sygne]
1350	strēkthe	1931	agay ne
1380	planeles [plantes]	1941	see, be that hyll
1400	thoge	1946	Caly
1417	passee (e <i>indistinct</i>)	1949	appayrelled
1430	percayue	1950	he [they]
1452	gad [had or gat]	1950	demauded
1475	(<i>marg.</i>)ost(<i>read</i> lost)	1967	pnrsys
1478	hedd [heed]	1978	reiosed
1510	dow (<i>also PD</i> , 2201)	2004	lyfe
1525	compauy	2010	whent [went]
1541	entre in	2025	whope
1549	sepulkre, [— .]	2030	Ogy..
1553	fuffre [suffre]	2033	inworthe so so
1556	it) [it];]	2057	whorthy
1576	r uste	2073	clothet
1596	slotefulnes	2105	Yerlande
1601	returuyd	2113	pnrgatory
1612	sethyngge [settyngge]	2118	wotsaue
1615	colte		

2122 gect [get]
2147 nygerde

2150 they r
2185 Rome ?.

IV. — DIUERSORIA

57-58 (*runn. title*) *Erasmui*
59 ha dde
76 houssholde
82 at [ad]
99 werysome (*s indistinct* ¹⁾)
114 wemen (also *l. 211*)
159 an [and]
161 god [— ;]
164 niuer
176-177 (*runn. title*) *Erasmui*
182 weate, [—]
185 cl enlye
192 chauce
209 xC.
227 Aphrick
228 be eye
238 stager (*t indistinct* ¹⁾)
256 him : [— ;]
263 specially (*2nd l indistinct*)
274 ieobardye
300 coms
304 tabie

314 othec [other]
321 couersaunt
349 bee eye
350 an [and]
375 they [the]
384 enterchañgeably
391 offenee
417 coxecomex
418 altho ughe
426 they, [—]
436 ap-/tite
438 Sinicoxe
456 in- [in]
464-5 thou/thou (*dittography*)
506 strañgers
507 inspaine
511 both. Of theise two con-
tries, Welche men...[both
of theise two contries.
Welche men...]
518 laysure (*l & s indistinct* ¹⁾)

¹⁾ Being mutilated, the *s* and *t* look like *l*.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

The Language.

Words of which the form is recorded, and the sense explained in Murray's *New English Dictionary* have not been entered in the following lists of notes ¹⁾; nor has any special notice been taken of the language in which these translations are couched, and which naturally shows the various particularities in syntax and accident of pronouns ²⁾, adjectives ³⁾, verbs ⁴⁾, &c. peculiar to the sixteenth century English. Amongst

¹⁾ Out-of-the-way words have been entered, with those referred to in the notes, in an alphabetical *Index*.

²⁾ Personal pronouns used as subject or in the address are omitted in *TD*, 70, 96, 650; *MD*, 627; cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 272-274. — *Hym* refers to things (with a preposition): *PD*, 58, 474, 1355-7, 1588; to things personified: *PD*, 1094, [*he, hys*] 1503 (1502-4). — The genitive *his* (for *its*) occurs in *TD*, 197; *PD*, 1580; *D*, 380. — *This* precedes a plural noun indicating time in *MD*, 12; *PD*, 269, 1446; *that* accompanies a plural noun in *MD*, 402; *PD*, 663, 737, 1322; cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 279; Einkenkel, 64.

³⁾ Double comparatives occur on *TD*, 582; *MD*, 900; cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 206; L. Pound, *The Comparison of Adjectives in English in the xv and the xvi Century*: Heidelberg, 1901:50. Cp. *MD*, 5, 674.

⁴⁾ The second person singular of the present tense has the same form as the 3rd person singular in *MD*, 19, 58; as the 2nd person plural in *TD*, 96 [, 958]; *MD*, 77, 234; *PD*, 2118; it ends in -s (before a following *th-*) in *TD*, 478, 643; cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 150; Knecht, 22, 23; Holmqvist, 137. — All inflexion is absent in the past tense and past participle of verbs ending in -d or -t: *hassard*: *TD*, 27; *addicte*: *TD*, 52; *neglect*: *TD*, 838; *suspecte*: *MD*, 475; *PD*, 987, 1028; *affecte*: *PD*, 1431; *electe*: *PD*, 1490; *prohybyte*: *PD*, 56; *separat*: *PD*, 517, 1006, 1356; *dedycate*: *PD*, 790; 1498, 1562; *send*: *PD*, 1205; *light*: *PD*, 1174; *dreadde*, *PD*, 68; *het*: *D*, 372; cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 155.

these the most important are, besides the congruence between subject and verb, the endings of present tense. There are several cases in which a subject in the plural is preceded by a verb in the singular ¹⁾, and in which the plural of the present tense is formed by adding *-th* ²⁾, and even *-s* to the verb ³⁾. It is interesting to compare the forms of the third person singular in these four texts for the development of the ending *-s* in Standard English. It was, it seems, first used in prose in Roger Ascham's *Toxophilus*, 1545, whereas from about 1530, it occurs occasionally in the doggerel verse of the interludes and plays, originally as rime, and afterwards also in the line. Surrey generalized it in his Sonnets [1557], and from about 1550, its use increased gradually, until by the end of the century, the inflection *-th* had nearly been ousted out of the ordinary language ⁴⁾. This development is well instanced in the various Colloquies. The *Pylgremage*, which dates from the end of 1536 or the beginning of 1537 ⁵⁾,

¹⁾ *Viz.*, is, or was : *TD*, 528 ; *MD*, 121, 226, 305 ; *PD*, 1124, 1518, 1997 ; *D*, 178, 481 ; dothe : *TD*, 609, 921 ; lyeth ; *TD*, 975 ; saieth : *MD*, 736 ; seruyth : *PD*, 1771 ; needes : *D*, 219 ; comes : *D*, 366 ; fayres : *D*, 492 ; cp. Knecht, 28, 29, 53 ; *Shak. Gr.*, 563 ; Stoelke, 2-21 ; Einkenkel, 65.

²⁾ *TD*, 210 : them whiche caryeth ; 595 : prophetes of this tyme sayth ; 977 : a fewe that dothe ; — *MD*, 171 : loue dayes breketh ; 210 : they tameth ; 214 : Thei that goth ; 340 : husbandes that hath won ; 613 : hu[s]bandes hath ; — *PD*, 582 : thay be suche as hathe ; 661 : many... offerynges makythe ; 677 : many men hathe ; 690 : other men hathe gyuen ; 865 : the mother, the sone, the father, and the holy ghoste hathe be robbyd ; (possibly 1872 : exercyse & vse helpeth moche). Cp. *Shak.Gr.*, 153-154 ; 570-572 ; Knecht, 16-48 ; 137 ; Stoelke, 2-8, 51-87 ; Holmqvist, 151-157 ; Einkenkel, 65 ; Staden, 107 ; Delcourt, 153.

³⁾ *TD*, 836 : they... that go... and buyldes ; Knecht, 49, &c., 150.

⁴⁾ Staden, 43-89 ; Knecht, 140 ; *Shak. Gr.*, 151-153 ; Holmqvist, 100-186 ; Blach, 57 ; &c.

⁵⁾ Cp. *Introduction*, p. xliii.

has already two forms : , he blasphemēs', and , me thynks' ¹⁾). The *Two Dialoges*, of about 1549 ²⁾), are remarkable in the history of the inflections, for they offer 30 verbs with the ending -s ³⁾ against 72 with that in -th, and six without any inflective mark ⁴⁾), which gives a percentage of 27.8. Becke or Mychell, whoever is responsible for the spelling, was evidently an innovator, especially if compared with Hake's *Diuersoria*, which is 17 years younger, and has only 20 forms in -s ⁵⁾ against 45 in -th, which represents only 30.8 on a hundred. As to the *Mery Dialogue*, printed in 1557, it has, beside one uninflected verb ⁶⁾), only two forms in -s : , euery mā... thinkes' and , me semeis' ⁷⁾), both of which can even be explained through a confusion with , me thinks', which appears to have become an adverbial expression about that time ⁸⁾). It either shows a decided backwardness of the printer, who, however, had to appeal to the popular reader ⁹⁾; — or it suggests that the anti-

¹⁾ PD, 426 and 2051; the forme *me thynke* occurs once : PD, 257; PD, 1807 has *me thynket* : cp. Blach, 41.

²⁾ Cp. *Introduction*, p. xvi.

³⁾ Viz., TD, 123, 217, 268, 269, 292, &c.; this number includes three *me thynkes* : TD, 120, 143, 811.

⁴⁾ TD, 154, 420, 1107, besides three times *me thynke* : TD, 107, 696 and 751; the forms on TD, 10, 217, 792, 793, 929, 1026, 1070, 1124, 1127 (possibly also 1131), are evidently conjunctives. Cp. Knecht, 141; Holmqvist, 136.

⁵⁾ This number includes three *me thinkes* : D, 34, 261, 476.

⁶⁾ MD, 100.

⁷⁾ MD, 5 and 165; as there are 72 forms of 3^d pers. sing. with -th, the percentage of those in -s, is 2.7.

⁸⁾ Cp. NED, in which the oldest instance quoted is of 1560: the oldest instance for , me seems' is of 1564; Knecht, 140, 149; Holmqvist, 111.

⁹⁾ Cp. Holmqvist, 114, 132, 138, 185, where the supposition is expressed that the forms in -s had attained general currency in

quoted model was mechanically reproduced in such haste that there hardly was any time for alterations or a careful revision. This supposition is made verisimilar by the careless state in which the little book was brought out ¹⁾, suggesting that Kytson had lying in front of him an issue of the *Mery Dialoge* published in 1530, maybe even in 1525, or, at any rate, at a time when the -s inflection was only exceptionally used in prose texts; — it is further corroborated by the obsolete and arbitrary spelling ²⁾; and it gains more probability from a comparison between this case, and that of *The workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght... wrytten... in the Englysh tonge* : indeed in this volume of several hundreds of pages, issued also in 1557, there are only very few forms in -s ³⁾, apparently on account of the fact that the texts were reprinted from editions issued, or manuscripts written, between 1510 and 1534 ⁴⁾

the spoken language as early as 1500, and that -th is due to traditional writing : this seems to be in opposition with the fact that in popular books like the *Pylgremage* and the *Mery Dialogue*, which offer many examples of words written according to the way they were pronounced (cp. p. 223-226), the -s forms are exceptional.

¹⁾ The irregularities in the material getting up of this little book, in which one line was repeated (*MD*, 774), a second and probably a third, were omitted (*MD*, 600, 698), has been referred to repeatedly in the *Introduction* : pp. xxix, xxxiii.

²⁾ Cp. pp. 225-6, and *Introduction*, p. xxxiii.

³⁾ Delcourt, 154 : in one of the four instances referred to, the verb in -s is used as a rime : *MW*, [¶₆] v, B ; two others are verbs in quotations, which in the original text have -eth : *MW*, 539, E ; 687, D.

⁴⁾ Delcourt, 362-401.

I. — TWO DYALOGES

THE PREFACE

- 7 Rogādo &c.] I have not found this quotation in Seneca's works.
70 shall not] the pronoun is omitted : cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 272.

1. POLYPHEMUS OR THE GOSPELLER

- 77 valyant or noble] , much praised or renowned ' would have been more correct : cp. *TD*, 664.
96 what hunt Polipheme] , ye ' is omitted : cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 273.
100 huntynge staffe] (*Coll.* : *venabulo*) prob. equivalent to , hunting-pole ' : Hall.
105 Benedicite] Becke humorously uses an occasional Latin term (cp. *TD*, 110, 549), imitating Chaucer in this instance (*Cant. Tales*, A, 1785; G, 628; &c.). — Cp. *MD*, 155; *D*, 82.
107 me thinke] this form occurs again on *TD*, 696, 751 : cp. p. 235.
109 a dogge in a doble] with the following expression it represents Erasmus' γαλῆ κροκωτόν. — Cp. Ray, 186 : It would make a dog doff his doublet.
109 a sowe ^ᵂ a sadle] Heyw., 89 : as meete as a sow To bear a saddle; Hazl., 76; Bohn, 379 : He looks like a sow saddled.
110 a non decet] an expression borrowed prob. from a Latin grammar.
111 J haue not &a.] Polyphemus, not understanding

Cannius' remark : γαλῆ κροκωτόν (viz., saffron coloured silk gown), answers : *Non croco tantum pinxi libellum*; Cannius' reply : *Non loquor de croco, sed Græce dixi quiddam*, is not translated.

- 114 Sinople, asaphetida, redleed, vermilō, and byse] the *Colloquium* has only : *minio lasurioque*.

Minio is rendered by , Sinople, redleed ' and , vermilō ' ; *lasurio* by , byse '. — *Byse* or *bis* is a light blue colour, which is mentioned in all the treatises about painting and miniature of former times : cp. E. Baes, *Recherches sur les Couleurs employées par les Peintres anciens depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours* : Brussels, 1883 : *passim*; Bartholomæus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; xix, 13, &a; J. B. Pictorio, *Die mit vielen raren und curiosen Geheimnüssen angefüllte Illuminirkunst, Worinnen enthalten : Wie alle Farben Künstlich zu bereiten und nützlich zu gebrauchen* : Nuremberg, 1713 : 49, 118, &a.

Asaphetida is mentioned for its curative virtues by Dioscorides (ii, 84), who calls it *medic*, or *syriac silphion*; and also by Pliny : *Nat. Hist.*, xix, 38; xxii, 101-107, where it goes under the name of *laser*. It is the hardened sap of the *scorodosma fœtidum*, and it is remarkable for the colours it takes. Originally it is of a deep white, but it soon turns to light red, then to scarlet, and finally to brown. Under the action of hydrochloric or nitric acid, it gets a malachite green shade, and when prepared with sulphurous acid, it yields, after the neutralizing of the superfluous acids, a fine blue fluorescent fluid : cp. J. von Wiesner, *Die Rohstoffe des Pflanzenreiches* : Leipzig, 1914 : i, 189, &c., 240; L. Reinhardt, *Kulturgeschichte der Nutzpflanzen* : Munich, 1911 : ii, 326. Still the *asafoetida* is not mentioned in any of the treatises about miniature or painting as having been used in former times as pigment. J. B. Pictorio (*op. cit.*, 30) records it as one of the six 'Gold-grund Gummi' known to him; being a gum resin it naturally may have been used by the limners to apply their gold leaf to the parchment; this would account for the popular saying : The worse the smell, the finer the gold. At present it is superseded by other products, and seems as unfamiliar to gilders as to

painters and miniaturists. The fact, however, that Becke, who probably knew the art of writing and decorating, names it along with 'Sinople' and 'redlead' and 'vermilion' to render the latin *minium*, implies that it was a pigment like the other substances amongst which he ranks it; perhaps it was an ingredient in the composition of some colour of which the recipe has remained a secret.

- 132 duetaunt] this quite uncommon word, is not recorded in *NED*; apparently it was a 'mot à la mode' among the tavern-going people of the xvith century, indicating probably a special way of pledging. It was possibly derived from the Italian *due tanti* (twice as much or many : Florio, 153) for : I take on me to drink twice as much as you; — or from the French *deux temps*, suggesting a practice of emptying the glass 'en deux temps', on the command of : one, two! Cp. Brand, II, 325-343 (especially 328 and 336, explaining the quotation from Overbury's *Characters* : He never drinks but double, for he must be pledged); Zarncke, 19, 330-1; Locher, xxvii; Pompen, 51; &c.
- 164 hoose all to cut and manglyd] *Coll.* : *caligæ intersectæ*, referring to the fashion in the beginning of the xvith century (cp. Nares, s. v. Paned hose) instanced in Dürer's drawings of a *Hartschier*, *artsirius*, or imperial lifeguardsman; at the time of this Colloquy it was Polyphemus' ambition to enter that corps : FG, 116-117; OE, 69-70.
- 167 shepe] cp. S. M. Jackson, *The Source of 'Jerusalem the Golden'* : Chicago, 1910 : 145.
- 175 as whyte... frendes as he hathe blacke eyes] the Latin text — which is as a sketch of Cannius' portrait (cp. pp. xi-xii) — had to be expanded : *ut quam habet nigros oculos, tam habeat candidos amicos*, and *tamque probe inauretur* (= made rich), *quam*

colorem habet inauraturæ congruum, i. e., *fuscum* : cp. EE, 1221, D; J. B. Pictorio (*op. cit.* for note to l. 114), 25, &c., 269, &c.; Watin, *L'Art du Peintre Doreur et Vernisseur* : Liège, 1774 : 144-155.

- 213 praty man] the altercation between the witty Cannius and the dull Polyphemus could hardly be rendered : CA. *Minime gentium*. Po. *Quid ? an tibi videor minimus gentium*, and further : CA : ... *sed ego minimè dixi, non minime*.
- 217 his eares] a few lines of the *Colloquium* were not translated at this place : Po. *Certe bubalino*. CA. *Placet collatio*; *sed ego minimè dixi, non minime*. Po. *Quid interest inter ovum & ovum ?* CA. *Quid interest inter medium digitum & infimum ?* Po. *Medius est longior*. CA. *Scite*. *Quid interest inter asininas auriculas, & lupinas ?* Po. *Lupinæ sunt breviores*. CA. *Rem tenes*. Po. *At ego longa breviaque palmo & ulna metiri soleo, non auribus*.
- 222 the gosseller &a.] the name *Evangeliphorus* would better have been kept and explained, as has been done with *Polyphemus*.
- 227 asses to be holy to] *Coll. : esse sanctissimos asinos*.
- 244 cull] the oldest instance in *NED* is of 1564.
- 282 were wonte] cp. p. xxiii.
- 284 porters of Londō] *Coll. : bajuli Lutetiani*.
- 301 In euery... deacons] *Coll. : In templis diaconi*.
- 304 they syng... heare them] *Coll. : pronuntiant*; cp. p. xxiii.
- 309 all suche deacons] *Coll. : omnes, viz., all men*.
- 311 But lest ye play &c.] *Coll. : Ne mihi sophistam agas*.
- 233 after a grosser maner] *Coll. : crassiore Minerva*.

- 325 a tankard of good Reynyshe wyne] *Coll.* : *lagenam vini Belnensis*; cp. p. xxii; EOO, I, 661, B, 700, F; Allen, V, 1342, 458-494; &c.
- 335 take me not with &a.] *Coll.* : *id... non soleo*; Caninius repeats this verb in his reply : *Sin, ut soles*, which Becke did not represent.
- 337 drynke thy skynne full] *Coll.* : *affatim*.
- 345 vpon a mery pynne] in a merry humour, half intoxicated; cp. Brand, II, 326; Ray, 206; Bohn, 174; Hazl., 191; Hall.
- 360 gyue me &a.] *Coll.* : *Si bipenni res agatur*.
- 373 Jt were &a.] Polyphemus makes a pun in the *Coll.* : *Amputarem illi collum pro colapho*.
- 376 he rose vpon his ryght syde] this was accounted as a good omen : cp. Beaumont & Fletcher, *Women Pleased*, I, III, 68-70 : *Soto* : Are you sure he has not hit me ? It gave a monstrous bounce. *Clau* : You rose o'your right side, And said your prayers too, you had been paid else. Cp. Heyw., 107; Farmer, 190.
- 389 pharesey] Erasmus evidently meant monasticism by it : cp. *TD*, 264, and his famous war-cry : *metuo ne Pharisaismo succedat Paganismus* (letter to Archbish. Fonseca, March 25, 1529 : EE, 1175, c, with the contradiction it roused : EOO, X, 1611, c; IV, 691, c; &c.
- 398 they] used in the sense of an indefinite pronoun, referring to ,aman' of l. 393 : *Shak. Gr.*, 263.
- 428 cannot well affare nor away] the expression ,I cannot away with a thing' is very ordinary : Palsgr., 474 b; *NED*; still ,affare' is very rarely connected with it.
- 453 J am J] the alteration in the *Coll.* occasioned by Polyphemus' declaration : *ego sum ego*, could

- hardly be rendered and has been omitted : CA. *At Ægonis est capras pascere*. Po. *Malim esse*. CA. *Pulchre tibi precaris; caper citius fles, quam capra*. Po. *Esse dixi, pro edere*. CA. *Eleganter*.
- 465 a peny worth of ease is euer worth a peny] *Coll.* : *Dulce est otium*; cp. Fuller, 13; Ray, 101; Bohn, 298; Hazl., 33.
- 486 to bable and rayle] *Coll.* : *e suggesto* (not translated) *deblaterare*.
- 493 J drew out my daggar] *Coll.* : *dextra pugilem egi*.
- 498 what a tale &c.] what Cannius says here, is not in the *Colloquium*.
- 509 lyke a ryght gospeller of these dayes] *Coll.* : *Satis quidem Euangelice*.
- 519 crye Erasmus mercie and desyred me to forgyue him] *Coll.* : *rogaret veniam, fatereturque, se, quæ dixerat, instigante Diabolo dixisse*; cp. p. xxiii.
- 531 out of his wyt] *Coll.* : *protinus exanimatum*.
- 549 Unde.] this word, which is not represented in the *Coll.*, is apparently another Latin term which Becke used humorously : cp. *TD*, 105, 110. It is not probable that it should have here the sense of the classic Latin : the ‘wherewith’ or ‘wherefrom’ required ‘to prouyde dayntie fare’ &c., for that would be quite different from the original. This ‘Unde’ is most likely the word which in mediaeval Latin was often used to connect one paragraph with what precedes; it was placed at the beginning of many a tale and many an argument, even when there was nothing that wanted connecting; several *exempla*, for instance, open with *Unde*, which seems to have got the meaning

- of , To begin with ', or , To make a beginning ' ¹⁾
 and must have been an equivalent to our , Once
 upon a time ', or our , Well ', which in familiar
 conversation introduces anecdotes and statements.
- 562 as mery as cup and can] Heyw., 103; Ray, 224;
 Bohn, 319; Hazl., 77.
- 565 a god belly] *bellie god* is given as synonym of
Epicure by Clerk, 7, 70; cp. *NED*.
- 593 by saynt Mary] cp. p. xxiii.
- 632 insurrections] Becke left out here one of the signs
 of the approaching doomsday : *Erasmus scribit
 colloquia*; cp. p. xxii.
- 645 That the Deuyll &a.] (*Coll. : Quod crumenam
 tuam obsident araneæ*) the sense is : the devil
 cannot be kept away from thy purse as there is
 not one cross in it, namely, not one single coin,
 usually provided with a cross on the reverse side;
 a current joke : cp. Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse*,
 whose purse is Lucifer's , dauncing schoole ' ; *The
 Vnfortunate Traveller* : , his purse was... verily
 a puritane, for it kept it selfe from any pollution
 of crosses ' (*The Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow :
 London, 1904-8 : I, 165; II, 223; IV, 95, 262). —
 Massinger, *The Bashfull Lover*, III, 1 (ed. Gifford-
 Cunningham : London, 541 a) : , The devil sleeps
 in my pocket; I have no cross To drive him from
 it '. — John Heywood, *Epigrams* (*Works*, ed. Far-
 mer : II, 226) : , Thy crosses be on gates all, in thy
 purse none '. — Ray, 184; Hazl., 188; Bohn, 374;
 Heyw., 151 : , he had not now one peny to blisse
 him ' ; *NED*, s. v. Devil, 22 e.
- 649 hyt the nayle vpon the head] (*Coll. : rem acu*

¹⁾ J. Klapper, *Exempla aus Handschriften des Mittelalters* :
 Heidelberg, 1911 : 12, 66, 74. This sense of *Unde* is not recorded
 by Du Cange.

- tetigisti*) Heyw., 171; Ray, 196; Fuller, 226; Bohn, 165; Hazl., 478.
- 650 as chaunceth] , it ' is omitted : *Shak. Gr.*, 273.
- 660 god be with you &a.] in the *Coll.* Polyphemus takes leave saying : *sis felix*; Cannius, punning on his companion's Christian name, answers : *Tibi vicissim opto ut sis quod diceris*, which occasions the further allusions. Becke did not render the double sense of *felix*.
- 664 valiaunt or pusaunt] *viz.*, Polyphemus : cp. l. 77.

2. OF THYNGES AND NAMES

- 686 mayster Boniface] , mayster', probably on account of Boniface Amorbach's title of *Doctor utriusque juris* : cp. *ADB*.
- 690 J wold god] probably confusion of , I wold ' and , wold to God ' ; cp. *MD*, 20.
- 706 they be men to laye your lyfe] the sense of these words, which have no corresponding text in the *Coll.*, seems to be : They are men, you may lay (wager, stake) your life for it, beyond any doubt they are, unless &a. — or, better yet : they are men, able to lay your life and kill you, unless..., — which corresponds to what is said on *TD*, 777-780.
- 711 pasle] read , passe ' , as in the Cambridge copy.
- 727 Maleface or horner] Becke translated the name *Cornelius* of the *Coll.* by , horner ' and added the pun , Maleface '.
- 805 byssshop] the words of the *Coll.* : *juxta sententiam Euangelicam*, were not translated.
- 822 as wyse as &a.] Heyw., 101; Bohn, 322; Fuller, 28; Ray, 220; Hazl., 87; Farmer, 208.
- 823 madder then iacke of Redyng] probably an allu-

- sion to a popular personage of Becke's days.
- 843 in daunger of] *Coll. : laborantem*.
- 878 take peper in the noose] Heyw., 111; Ray, 206, 293; Bohn, 174; Hazl., 496; Farmer, 184; Udall, 446.
- 909 as playne as Dunstable waye] Heyw., 120 : Dunstable hie way; Ray, 233; Hazl., 79; Bohn, 197; Farmer, 136; Nares.
- 911 a lowder lye] Ray, 70 : A great Lie : That is a loud one; Clerk, 21 : , A lowd lie '.
- 912 to pulle... by the sleue] cp. Sir Gascoigne's *Steele Glas* (1576), 67 : Let not the Mercer pul thee by the sleeue.
- 925 youre] evidently used for an indefinite pronoun.
- 944 promyse more by an ynche of a candle then they wyll performe by a whole pounde] *Coll. : nemo tamen horum laturus sit mendacis vocabulum*; this uncommon saying probably means : they promise more when putting up a candle, only an inch high, as a votive offering to God or to a saint, than they would think of performing if they had offered a whole pound of wax. When asking a favour of the Lord, either directly or through one of the saints, some good work (*e.g.*, alms, charity, pilgrimage or prayers) is occasionally promised in the case that the favour should be granted; and as an earnest or token of good will a candle is often lighted in a church, or before the statue of a saint : the greater the favour asked for and the keener the desire, the greater also is the promise, and the larger that votive candle.

This passage may be further illustrated by a passage in Erasmus' *Naufragium* : *Unum audiui... qui... polliceretur Christophoro, qui est Lutetiæ in summo templo, mons verius quam statua, cereum tantum, quantus esset*

ipse. Hæc cum vociferans quantum poterat, identidem inculcaret, qui forte proximus assistebat illi notus, cubito tetigit eum, ac submonuit : *Vide quid pollicearis : etiamsi rerum omnium tuarum auctionem facias, non fueris solvendo*. Tum ille voce jam pressiore, ne videlicet exaudiret Christophorus : *Tace, inquit, fatue; an credis me ex animi sententia loqui? Si semel contigero terram, non daturus sum illi candelam sebaceam* (EOO, I, 713, c, d). Cp. the expression : 'He promises mountains and performs mole-hills' (Hazl., 196).

- 962 neyther barrell better hearing (i. e., herring)] Heyw., 172; Ray, 176; Fuller, 151; Bohn, 149; Hazl., 327; Farmer, 110; Udall, 187, 443.
- 975 where the horse walloweth there lyeth some heares] Ray, 121; Bohn, 196; Hazl., 535.
- 981 as trewe as the gospell] Heyw., 97 : all is not Gospell that thou doest speake.
- 998 very trewe] a few lines of the *Coll.* were not translated : *Quid agant, qui res fisci tractant, qui monetam publicam cudunt deteriore, qui nunc aucta, nunc diminuta nummorum æstimatione, privatorum rem accidunt, fortasse nobis non admodum liquet : de his, quæ quotidie experimur, loqui fas est : cp. Introduction, p. xxiii.*
- 1012 slypper marchauntes] cp. Heyw., 114 : we shall see him prove a marchant of eele skinnes.
- 1019 lyke a playne song note] an allusion to the *cantus planus*, singing with the simple melody or theme; the sense of this expression : 'vnsweetely', or monotonous, annoying, is instanced in *NED* by Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, III, 1, 138 : 'The finch, the sparrow and the lark, The plain-song cuckoo gray.'
- 1030 set the cocke vpon the hoope] Ray, 183 : To set cock on hoop. This is spoken of a Prodigal, one that takes out the spigget, and lays it upon the

- top of the barrel, drawing out the whole vessel without any intermission. Cp. MW, 1177, E; Heyw., 113; *NED*, s. v. Cock-a-hoop.
- 1055 beare out to the harde hedge the porte of a gentylman] *Coll.* : *fere nobilitatis opinionem affectant*.
- to the harde hedge] the oldest quotation in *NED* is of 1581.
- 1066 the Admiralles of the sees] *Coll.* : *praefecti maris*. Cp. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the English Laws* : London, 1821-2 : I, 8, 11; III, 7, 3.
- 1075 Such lawes &a.] read : Such lawes as these are, the arrantest theues that are, myght make them selues.
- 1085 rather to a horseman &a.] Erasmus' pun : *equiti potius, quam pediti*, had to be explained rather than translated.
- 1097 hange vp &a.] *Coll.* : *Abeant in malam crucem*.
- 1104 maystrys money] probably the money of the 'maystrys', namely of the rich citizens, who through industry and commerce had got the wealth that provided access to the society and rank of lower nobility.
- 1115 swashe] to swash = to fence; to swash with swords; to affect valour; to swagger : cp. Florio, 127 (= Cortellare); Hall.
- 1133 ionkers] title given to the sons of noblemen (in Flemish, Dutch and German), from the Flemish *Joncheer*, *Jonkheer*, *Jonker*; *NED* explains it as a title only of young German noblemen, and quotes an instance of 1554 : And herewith let my Iunker papistes... take their aduertisement (*Admon. Cert. Trewe Pastor and Prophet*, Pref. A v b). Most probably Becke chose this word,

which the rendering did not require, under the influence of the ἱππεὺς ἄντιππος, a libel on the same , knight' Eppendorf satirized here; in that *Colloquium*, Nestorius says to Harpalus : *Deinde sodales aliquot adsciscendi sunt, aut etiam famuli, qui tibi cedant loco, & apud omnes te Joncherum appellent* (EÖÖ, I, 835, E).

1138 suche horsemen &a.] the Latin is conciser : *Equites mihi narras equuleo dignos.*

1142 that parte of Germany called Nassen or Hessen] Becke probably took these two names at random to translate Erasmus' *Sicambria*, as he does not seem to have felt what the author alluded to, namely to the bad name of that country in antiquity (Cæsar, IV, 16; Horace, *Carm.*, IV, 2, 36; Ovid, *ad Liv.*, 17), which had not been improved by the terrible Duke Charles of Gelderland, with his ruthless helpers Peter van Heemstra and Martin van Rossem, and with his *obæratî nobiles*; the lack of trustworthiness of that nation had even passed into a proverb : on December 21, <1513>, Erasmus, complaining about Fr. Berckman's breach o faith, to Andrew Ammonius, wrote : *En Sicambriam fidem; sed est quo me vlciscar* : Allen, I, 283, 162.

II. — A MERY DIALOGUE

1 a thousand] a word like , times', , greetings' or , wishes' seems to have fallen out, unless , a thousand' should have the meaning of , a thousand', thousandeele' as the *Coll.* implies : *Salve*

- multum*; this sense, however, is not recorded.
- 5 much faire] *Coll.* : *formosior*; , faire' may be a misprint for , fairer' : cp. *MD*, 10.
- 15 oriente] *Coll.* : *blandus*.
- 21 an husband of clowts] Latin : *fungo*; cp. Lyly, *Mother Bombie*, V, III, 255 : *Silena*, thou must... loue him for thy husband. — *Sil.* I had as lief haue one of clouts.
- 22 col] Nicholas.
- 24 now] *Coll.* : *tam cito*.
- 38 good lyuyng and honest conuersacion] *Coll.* : *castis ac pudicis moribus*; possibly names of actors in some interlude : cp. *MD*, 162, 188, 596, 615, 653.
- 40 cōmon buenes] *Coll.* : *Meretrices*. The word , buenes', quite unknown in the language, is prob. due to a ; q' turned upside down in the irregularly composed text, and should read , quenes', queanes.
- 47 no small pot of wine] the *Coll.* is different here : *strenue prodigit dotem, quam ex me non medio-crem accepit*; the detail which the translator added makes Eulalia's next question superfluous.
- 54 rowtyng lyke a sloyne] *Coll.* : *destertit*. Heyw., 51 : Asleepe... routing lyke a hogge. — , Sloyne' does not seem to be recorded elsewhere; it may be a misprint for , slouyne', or for , swyne', unless it should be a dialectical term.
- 73 by ð eares togither] Heyw., 92; Hazl., 471; Farmer, 136; Clerk, 27, 71.
- 78 bēch hole] cp. Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV, VII, 9 : We'll beat 'em into bench-holes.
- 83 holden his nose to the grindstōe] Heyw., 21; Hazl., 478.
- 113 repented euery vayne in hys harte] Clerk, 82.

- 118 he cowcheth an hogeshed] Heyw., 99; Farmer, 127. — *Coll.* : *dormit, somnium hominis* (i. e., *dormit, ille homo somniculosus*). Cp. Drusius, 249.
- 125 To beyonde home] *Coll.* : *Sic ut dici vix possit*.
- 133 woman kinde] here a woman in particular.
- 137 the deuill hadde cast aboone &a.] Heyw., 98.
- 144 that taken] most probably , haue ' or , a ' fell out between , that ' and , taken ' (cp. a laughed : *MD*, 87).
- 147 now... an other] *Coll.* : *Nunc nihil superest nisi ut uterque ad alterius mores, & ingenium accommodando sese...*
- 151 forgeue him] *Coll.* : *illum refingere*.
- 151 Jt lieth... in the womē, for the orderinge of theyr husbandes] *Coll.* : ... *est in uxoribus, quales sint mariti*; cp. Heyw., 151 : , A good wife maketh a good husband ' ; — , To make a good husband, make a good wife '.
- 155 Ergo] used by way of joke in the translation : cp. *TD*, 105.
- 162 good humanitie and wyse handlynge] (*Coll.* : *commoditate morum*) these names were probably quoted from some interlude or moral play : cp. *MD*, 38.
- 169 they ought to know and not vtterly hated] the text is evidently not correct here : instead of , hated ' one expects , hate ' or , be hated '.
- 171 loue dayes breketh] *Coll.* : *dissiliat benevolentia mutua*; cp. *MD*, 610; *NED*; Heyw., 120; Farmer, 173; &c.
- 188 gentilnesse and fayre condycions] probably two more names of personages in some interlude : cp. *MD*, 38.

- 190 a cheri faire] *Coll.* : *temporaria* : cp. J. Ritson, *Ancient Popular Poetry* : London, 1833 : 96; Hall., *NED*.
- 193 to folow your daunce] Heyw., 130; Bohn, 156; Hazl., 469.
- 195 J can] most probably ,if, and, an' or ,&' was omitted after ,xan.'
- 199 you ar but agirle of age] *i. e.* as to your age you are but a girl.
- 208 tymes] *Coll.* : & *tempora*, & *quibus rebus*.
- 227 that ye wyues to vse] read : ,that we wyues' or ,that f wyues to use'; to = too (cp. *MD*, 391, 419, 681, &a.)
- 240 shoulde as] read : ,shoulde be as'.
- 246 fasshion] the translator omitted here a few words of the original : *si lectus hoc aut illo modo stratus*.
- 263 waiward] used here as adverb : = waiwardly.
- 263 shrewshaken] judging from the corresponding term in the *Coll.* : *commotior erat*, ,shrewshaken' has not the sense of ,cured of shrewishness', suggested in *NED* (probably on account of the 2nd instance quoted there, p. 773, 4), but that of ,shaken up, poisoned, or ravingly excited by a shrew, made furiously angry', — which is prob. also the sense of the word in the first quotation of *NED*.
- 264 pacyfye &a.] *Coll.* : *leniebam*; this and the following verbs, are all in the past tense in Latin; the translator using the present, represents things as if happening constantly.
- 270 whitled] cp. Lily, *Mother Bombie*, III, II, 44 : our masters were as well whitled as we, for yet they lie by it. Cp. aswell *D*, 414; Clerk, 88; Hall.; Nares.

- 273 O carefull state] *Coll.* : *Infelix... conditio*.
- 277 As whoe saith] = as if : *Coll.* : *Quasi vero*.
- 285 to play byll vnder wynges] Erasmus wrote *conni-
vere*. This expressive description of the ostrich
policy alludes to the pretended habit of the bird's
burying its head under its wing at an approach-
ing danger : cp. Erasmus' *Parabolæ* (EOO, I,
613, E) : *Struthiocamelus avium maxima, sed
stolidissima : Nam ubi collum occultarit frutice,
latere sese existimat*; — Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, x, 2.
- 309 Thus] for , This ' : cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 279.
- 325 aswel <read a wel> lerned woman] *Coll.* : *Philo-
sopham*.
- 332 but case there be] probably read : but in case (or
'case) there be; *Coll.* : *sed fac esse*.
- 335 to haue him alwayes at one point] *Coll.* : *sui
similem*.
- 345 thyne] without doubt a misprint for , myne '.
- 391 to lay to <i. e., too : cp. MD, 227 n> hys handel]
Coll. : *sibi adsit*.
- 396 take Stafforde lawe] *Coll.* : *verberibus eam emen-
daret*. , Stafford law ' is a pun of the name of that
town : cp. Florio, 66 : , *Braccésca licenza*, as we
say Staffords law ' ; Hazl., 393; Hall. : , He has
had a trial in Stafford Court, i. e. he has been
beaten or ill-treated '.
- 409 how foule a beaste she was] *Coll.* : *quam illa
esset infelici forma, quam non amabilibus mori-
bus*.
- 410 that she neuer haue bestowed her] the text is
evidently mutilated : probably , would ' (or 'd)
fell out before , neuer ' : , she [would], or she ['d]
neuer haue bestowed her ' (i. e., , bestow ' in the
reflective sense, , settled in marriage ', *NED*); or,

- to keep closer to the Latin, *ne nullum illi posset invenire maritum* : , she ' has to be changed into , he ' : , that [he would] (or [he'd]) neuer haue bestowed her '.
- 411 sayde he muche a doe] probably the preposition , with ' or , after ' was forgotten before , muche '.
- 414 and she were a quene] *Coll.* : *quantumvis felix*.
- 419 to be stoye in his kytchen] in Latin : *in ancillarum numero*; , stoye ' (unless it should be a word disfigured) evidently means servant-girl, , kitchen wench ' ; I have not found another instance. It may be a mistake of the printer's : possibly for *sloy*, the opprobrious epithet for a woman (*NED*), which however seems incongruous with , kytchen '.
- 462 a thyng] *Coll.* : *quiddam de marito, commoditate uxoris correcto*. — The following tale is the 38th , nouvelle ' of Margaret of Angoulême's *Hep-taméron* (ed. B. Pifteau : Paris : II, 50), related as having happened at Tours.
- 481 wheron he drake] cp. *Order of Communion* (1549) : *Exhortation 3* : , To give us his said body and blood... to feed and drik upon. ' .
- 487 certain plate] *Coll.* : *vasa aliquot argentea*.
- 493 her sister] read : , his sister '.
- 501 well cherished] *Coll.* : *honestius... acciperetur*.
- 514 She was one of goddes fooles] i. e. she was an absolute fool; cp. *NED*; Erasmus wrote : *O matronam nimium bonam*.
- 529 wife, hunted a callette] , he ' seems to have been omitted; , Callet ' cp. Heyw., 50; Farmer, 118; Hall. ; &c.
- 538 vnto his souerayne ladie] Erasmus alluded to the custom of the Romans : *ad convivium*.
- 561 a goddes man] *Coll.* : *vir... integer*.

- 565 she picked her into a... parler] ,she picked' means here ,she went' : *Coll.* : *se recepit*; cp. Udall, 143 : pick you hence; 152 : bidde theim go pieke theim to the crowes. — This sense, not recorded in *NED*, may have arisen from a confusion either with ,to steal', which is often coupled with ,to pick' : ,to pick and steal'; or with ,to pitch' (Middle English : *pikke*), = ,to place one-self, to settle, to alight'.
- 581 god thanke my selfe] probably haplography for ,God thank', and ,thank(s to) my selfe'.
- 583 agreinge lyke dogges and cattes] Bohn, 147; Hazl., 450.
- 593 He his beyonde goddes forbode] *Coll.* : *Ille ferocior est, quam ut ullis officiis mansuescat*.
- 596 no beest... but by fayre handling be tamed] prob. ,can' fell out before ,be', unless it should be a conjunctive.
- 596 fayre handling] possibly a personage from an interlude : cp. *MD*, 38.
- 600 There be some fautes wyth you (601) thoughe thou se them...] evidently part of the sentence is missing between ,you' and ,though'; since one of these words is the last of a page, and the other the first of the next, it seems as if a whole line was either forgotten on the letter-board, or, which is more probable, omitted in mistake by the compositor who reproduced Vele's, or the older, text. Consequently [*B*₆] recto, which starts with l. 601, has only 24 lines, whereas the other pages generally have 25. At the arranging of the text into pages, the catchword on [*B*₅] v was added, or changed accordingly. The missing portion can easily be guessed from the Latin text : *Sunt etiam*

- quædam vitia, ad quæ tibi connivendum est* :
some fautes wyth you[re husbande whiche you
should not speake of] thoughe thou se them. —
On MD, 698 is probably another example of a
line omitted in reproducing the printed model.
- 606 that place &a.] cp. Hazl., 417 : The difference is
wide, that the sheets will not decide; Bohn, 502.
- 614 making y^e same plesur &a.] here the text is con-
fused : most probably the words ,their lewd
condicions' (= temper : *Coll.* : *morum fastidio*),
should come before ,making' : their lewd con-
dicions making y^e same plesur (that expelseth &a.
— or perhaps ,making', as well as ,corrupting'
(l. 618), refers to the general subject ,some beastes',
,they'; in which case the words may be left as
they stand, but ,by' should be supplied before
,their'; the order, however, of the sentence is
still inverted : ,making y^e same plesur ([by] their
lewd condicions), that expelseth all displeasures
oute of their husbandes mynde, vnpleasaunt and
lyttell set bi : corrupting &c.
- 615 lewd condicions] cp. MD, 653 n; 676.
- 615 expelseth] this word, which is not recorded in
NED, is possibly due to a confusion between
,expelth' and ,expulseth'; it may be only a
misprint for, or a hasty reading of, ,expelleth'.
- 617 lytell set bi] translates with ,vnpleasaunt' the
Latin *insuavem*.
- 626 vnto him] the translator missed the pun of the
colloquium; if he had rendered *viro* by ,vnto a
man', Xantippa's exclamation ,Yea vnto a man'
would have been more appropriate.
- 627 holde well withall] ,J' was omitted before
,holde', either by mistake, or in accordance with

the custom in familiar expressions like : , thank you ! bless you ! beshrew your heart ! ' *Shak. Gr.*, 272. Cp. *MD*, 786.

632 that ar sene in] Latin : *qui versantur in*.

634 chiefe lady of wedlocke] *Coll.* : *deam connubii præsidentem*.—Lady was often used before the names of goddesses (e.g., Dunbar, *Gold. Targe*, 1508 : 74 : , The fresch Aurora, and lady Flora schene '...), and has here evidently the sense of , Deity, Divinity '.

640 A tale of a tubbe] *Coll.* : *Fabulam audio*; Heyw., 160; Bohn, 180; Hazl., 41; Farmer, 202; Clerk, 58.

653 honest condiciōs (654) good feloshyp] these terms recall the names of personages in interludes : cp. *MD*, 38. — , Honest condiciōs (cp. *MD*, 679) is probably the match to the , lewd condicions ', of ll. 615, 676. — , Fellowship ' plays in *Every Man* and in *Lusty Juventus*.

659 an hogge, or a bore] *Coll.* : *suem aut ursum* ; judging from the corresponding term in Latin, it seems as if , bore ' meant , bear ' ; this form is recorded as doubtful amongst the spellings of the XIIIth century in *NED* (*Ancren Riwele*, 202 : þe Bore). As the rendering of this Colloquy is generally accurate, it is not necessary to suppose that , bore ' is intended for , boar ', and consequently we have here either a dialectal form of, or a misprint for, , bear '.

665 by sorcery] *Coll.* : *Circes artibus*.

669 hardely] viz., hardily.

674 the towarde f] read , the towarders y^u '.

681 to late calagayne] probably , to ' fell out before , calagayne ' ; cp. Heyw., 153.

996 it commeth a day after the faire] *Coll.* : *sero* ;

- Heyw., 33; Bohn, 159; Hazl., 467; Clerk, 77.
- 698 bringe thyne husbande to a greate furtheraunce
to that shall bee] *Coll.* : *non serum est studere*
corrigendo marito. Ad eam rem conducet &a.
, 'To bring to' meant, in the xviiith century, ', to
cause to be complaisant' (*NED*). As, however,
that sense is not recorded for the xvith or xviith
centuries, it is to be supposed that the printer left
out some words from his model; probably he
mixed up two sentences on account of the same
or similar words, jumping from one line in the
printed book to another (cp. *MD*, 600). The text
can easily be guessed : ', bringe thyne husbande to
a [great amendinge of his life and manners. A]
greate furtheraunce to that (i. e., amending) shall
bee &a.
- 701 We are spedde alreedy of that] to spedde somebody
of something = to help somebody to, to provide
somebody with; cp. *Enterlude of Youth*, 312 :
, 'I can spedde the of a seruaunte of pryce' (cp. W.
Bang's note in his edition, *Mater.*, XII, 86);
Heyw., 171 : ', I am sped Of mine errand'.
- 705 ye reken &a.] Erasmus alludes to Suetone's
τρίμηνα παιδία (*Vita Claudii Caesaris*, I; cp. : Eras-
mus' *Adagium* : *Trimestres liberi* : *EOO*, II,
277, B) : *trimestris foetus jocum renovas*; the
translator rendering this passage made an allusion
to the well-known mediaeval jest on the subject.
- 710 J spake with him] Erasmus wrote : *fuerat mihi*
cum eo colloquium, punning on *colloquium*,
which like the English ', conversation' in the
xvth and xvith centuries (*NED*), was often used
in the sense of ', sexual intercourse or intimacy';
, 'speak' possibly had the same meaning in familiar

- language, though it may be only a euphemism.
- 725 J am payed agayn] *Coll.* : & *nunc me gravidam esse*; — , to be payed ' has the sense of , to be satisfied, to be gratified ' *NED*; it is not recorded as having the special meaning implied here, which it may have had in colloquial language.
- 726 locke] = luck; this spelling is not recorded in *NED*.
- 730 finde at theyr husbandes] *Coll.* : *querela* : without doubt , fault ' was omitted after , finde '.
- 731 but were ye thē sure together] a word like , betrothed, affianced, vowed ', &c., seems to have been omitted before , together ', as results from the Latin text, which has quite a different meaning : *Sed inter vos intercesserat pactum connubiale ?*
- 738 they delite] either a word was left out by mistake after , they ' : , they [that] delite ', — or , they ' is a misprint for , that '.
- 743 But J fynde him not so] the *Coll.* is more incisive : *At mihi uni talis non esl.*
- 746 true sayer but a lier] the pun of the *Coll.* is lost : *pro Eulalia, voca Pseudolaliam.*
- 750 the blacke oxe neuer trode on hys fote] Ray, 205, explains this expression : , He never knew what sorrow or adversity meant '. From a place quoted by Hazl., 409, it results, however, that it was especially used when speaking about one who has not felt yet the burden of married life : cp. Tusser's *Dialogue of Wiving and Thriving : Points of Husbandry* : 1580 (D. S. edition) : 153 :
 , Why then do folke this prouerbe put,
 The blacke oxe neere trod on thy foot,
 If that way [*viz.*, marrying] were to thrive?'
 The manner in which the translator renders the

- remark of the *Coll.* : *nondum novit, quid sit esse patremfamilias*, corroborates that special meaning of this expression : cp. Heyw., 28; Bohn, 173.
- 760 to obsequyous] , be ' was omitted : , to be obsequyous '.
- 776 a stepdame] Erasmus is more sarcastic : *novercam germanam*.
- 780 hanged] the *Coll.* merely says : *extinctam*.
- 795 mē put thē self tobe wel & easily horsed] *Coll.* : *ut equum sibi commodum reddant*. Probably , to ' fell out or was omitted through haplography before , tobe ' : mē put thē self to, tobe...
- 807 on your mery pinnes] cp. *TD*, 344 n.
- 812 vnto thē where he loueth] uncommon use of , where ' in the sense of , whom ' or , that ' : cp. *Shak. Gr.*, 307, in which only such cases are recorded in which , where ' combines with a preposition to take the place of a relative.
- 816 toppe heuy] Latin : *vino lætior*; cp. Ray, 69.
- 832 J wyll in hande with thyne husbande] *Coll.* : *maritum tuum aggrediar*; probably a verb like , go ' or , be ' was omitted after , wyll '.
- 836 he would playe his fages] Erasmus wrote : *misceret cælum terræ*. The expression , to play one's fages ' does not seem to be recorded elsewhere : as , fage ' means : action of coaxing, or deceiving; deceit, fiction, — , to play one's fages ' should be equivalent to , to play one's tricks ', evidently a euphemism here. Still , fages ' may be a misprint for , fāges ', fanges = tusks, claws or talons, — in which case the expression would have the sense of , to play, or ply, one's fists and feet, to be mad with anger '.

916 disposers] Abraham Vele's colophon reads here
 ,dysposycyons'; — the word ,disposers' evidently
 is used in that same sense, which, however, is
 not recorded in *NED*; it is either a synonym
 of, or a mistake for, ,dispose' = temper, frame
 of mind : cp. *Troilus and Cressida*, II, III, 176 :
 ,He doth rely on none, But carries on the stream
 of his dispose Without observance or respect';
Othello, I, III, 403; *Shak. Lex.*; *NED*.

III. — Y^E PYLGREMAGE OF PURE DEUOTYON

PREFACE

- 7 whiche] seems to refer to ,writinges'.
- 19 scripture] Matthew, VII, 14.
- 26 Christe, sayinge] John, XIV, 2-23.
- 38 vnryghtswye] prob. misprint for ,vnryghtswyse'
 = unrighteous. *NED*.
- 47 man the veryte] prob. read ,man to' &c.
- 94 my breath was almost past me] probably imitated
 from a passage in Erasmus' *Stultitiæ Laus* : ...
fœdera, leges, artes, ludicra, seria, jam spiritus
me deficit, breviter &c. : EOO, IV, 409, c.
- 99 morouer he notethe &c. to l. 126 : ... fylthye lukre]
 this passage is translated from Erasmus' *De Collo-*
quiorum Utilitate : ,*In Peregrinatione religionis*
ergo, taxo istos, qui per tumultum ejecerunt
omnes imagines e templis : rursus eos, qui insa-
niunt in peregrinationes, quæ suscipiuntur præ-
textu religionis; unde jam & sodalitates inventæ

sunt. Qui Hierosolymae fuerunt, Equites aurati vocantur, seque Fratres vocant, & in die Palmarum serio rem agunt ridiculam, fune trahentes asinum, ipsi non multum differentes ab asino ligneo quem trahunt. Id imitati sunt qui Compostellam adierunt. Dentur hæc sane, dentur affectibus hominum : at non ferendum, quod hinc sibi vindicant pietatem. Notantur & ii, qui reliquias incertas pro certis ostendunt, qui his plus tribuunt quam oportet, qui quæstum ex his sordide faciunt : EOO, I, 905, E.

- 113 palmesondaye] cp. Brand, I, 124, quoting a passage from Barnaby Googe.
- 114 sadely] (cp. *PD*, 1452) Erasmus wrote : *serio*.
- 127 Corbane] Matthew, xxvii, 6 : *Non licet eos mittere in corbonam* (Greek : κορβανῶν).
- 131 fayre] = feare : this spelling is not recorded in *NED*; cp. p. 224.
- 132 rebelle &c.] cp. p. xl, &c.
- 156 brethethe &c.] John, iii, 8.
- 176 the byshope of Rome] cp. p. xli; *PD*, 596.
- 183 stud] (not in *NED*) prob. stood, viz., cropped short : Hall; , cropt *N. C.* As Sheep are said to be *Stood* whose Ears are cropt; and Men who wear their hair very short' (possibly referring to this instance : cp. *Introd.*, p. lxxiii) : N. Bailey, *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* : London, 1773 (23rd edition); hence : *stud traytres* = traitors with short cut hair, monks; — unless *stud* should be a misprint for , stut, stout', = rebellious, obstinate : *NED*.
- 213 our mother the Englishhe tonge] , tonge ' belongs at the same time to , mother ' and to , Englishhe '.

COLLOQUIUM

- 237 *Menedemus*] probably through a confusion with
manus dare, the translator wrote in the margin as
 explanation of this name : , Signifieth to forsake '.
- 245 *Ogygyus.*] should be followed by *Ogy.*, as the next
 words are spoken by that personage.
- 259 bruches] = brooches; cp. Nichols, 70.
- 265 more relygyously] , more ' seems to have the sense
 of : very, most.
- 266 our lady of Walsyngā] the *Coll.* calls her *Virginem*
Parathalassiam, since, as the translator explains,
 , it is ny to y° see ' : cp. Nichols, 82; *PD*, 578.
- 268 vysyte] , revysyte ' would have been more in
 accordance with the Latin : *revisi*.
- 271 for pure deuocyon] Erasmus wrote : *religionis*
caussa; *Ogygius'* explanation (*PD*, 274, 300, &c.)
 shows that *religio* has to be taken in the sense of
votum, i. e., obligation arising from a promise,
 which escaped the translator.
- 312 to mokke sayntes] *Coll.* : *divis os oblinere*.
- 315 & J must obaye heres] instead of translating here :
 & *mea quoque referebat*, a sentence was repeated
 — probably by inattention — which occurs a few
 lines higher : *PD*, 313.
- 341 wykdy comunicacyon] *Coll.* : *Impia persuasio !*
- 345 a wax candle] *Coll.* : *sebecam* (= tallow) *candelam*.
- 361 the aultre, wherof he prechythe] *Coll.* : *suggesto*,
unde concionatur is &c. — The fact that *suggestum*
 is rendered by *aultre* implies either the
 translator's ignorance, or the custom existing in
 the xvith century, at least in some places in
 England, to deliver the sermons from the altar

- instead of from the pulpit, or from the ambo or
, lofte' (TD, 305).
- 374 as dothe aper] *Coll.* : *congruunt*.
- 389 Jnsomoche as you folowe Luther &a.] *Coll.* : *Quod
Lutherum sequutus strenue suades &a.*
- 390 nobly] *Coll.* : *strenue*.
- 405 thay requyre that of me] the contrast in the Latin
text : *ea petunt a Virgine &a.*, was lost in the
rendering.
- 412 hys wyues honesty] *Coll.* : *pudicitiam suæ con-
cubince*.
- 419 purposyd to robbe] *Coll.* : *ad lanienam conductus*.
- 433 the vowes of some women be no lesse wykyd thā
folishe] *Coll.* : *Aliorum vota non tam impia sunt,
quam inepta*.
- 448 send me some argumētis that be īsoluble] *Coll.* :
Da nodos insolubiles nectere.
- 449 great prest] *Coll.* : *sacerdos*.
- 452 churchē] a few words of the *Coll.* were not trans-
lated, viz., *Clamat nauta : Da prosperos cursus*.
- 457 temperate wether] *Coll.* : *tempestivam pluviam*.
- 458 mylke wyffe] *Coll.* : *rustica*.
- 461 cōmytte it] *Coll.* : *relego*.
- 466 maryed mē] *Coll.* : *nubentibus*.
- 482 my chaunges] cp. the English Bible of 1611 :
Judges, xiv, 12 : , thirtie sheetes, and thirtie
change of garments'; *Coll.* : *mutatoriis*. *NED*.
- 485 beeyten] *Coll.* : *corroso* : , be-eaten'; this verb,
not recorded in *NED*, is probably a parallel to
, befret' = to gnaw away.
- 488 quere kepar] = choir keeper, sacristan : *Coll.* :
ædituum.
- 488 wax cādle] *Coll.* : *lucernulam aut candelam se-
baceam* : cp. *PD*, 345.

- 493 what so euer any saynte hathe in any place, to
take hyt frome the churches] inexact rendering
of : *quidquid... est divorum, exigas ex ædibus
sacris*.
- 495 take hede what you doo] *Coll.* : *Etiam atque etiam
vide quid agas*.
- 507 all armyd &a.] *Coll.* : *cataphracto, hasta simul
& gladio formidabili*.
- 514 me thou canst not cast owt] *Coll.* : *Me vero,
quantumvis inermem, non tamen ejicies, &a*.
- 525 this thinge pleasythe me very well] *Coll.* : *mihi
plane res cordi est*.
- 529 xiiij.] without doubt a misprint for , xxiiij. ', as
the *Colloquium* reads 1524.
- 538 men be moche searchyd for suche maters] has no
correspondent text in the original.
- 558 J denye nat but it may be so] Erasmus : *Haud
nego posse* (i. e., *Virginem eadem praestare*).
- 563 she wyll gyue her selfe to our affectyōes] *Coll.* :
semet... nostris affectibus accommodat.
- 569 the most holy name] *Coll.* : *Celeberrimum nomen*.
- 579 the towne] *Coll.* : *Vicus*.
- 582 suche as hathe thayr name of the Laten tonge and
be called Seculares, a kynd betwyxte monkes
& Chanones] the original reads : *quibus a Latinis
regulæ cognomen additur : medium genus inter
monachos, & canonicos, quos seculares appellant*.
— The translator evidently did not understand
very well the difference between *canonicos regu-
lares*, *monachos* and *canonicos seculares*.
- 586 Amphybyanes] in the original : *Amphibios*; the
translator apparently ignored the meaning of this
word, and mistook the *Amphybyanes*, or amphi-
bians, for amphibologies (= dubious, ambiguous

- wordings : cp. Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde*, iv, 1406 : For goddes speken in amphibologies) : hence his marginal note : , *Amphybyanes be thynges doutfull* '.
- 587 y^e mōstre Fyber] the translator evidently did not know the beaver, *fiber*, and consequently inserted the Latin name , *fyber* ' as a loanword, adding, probably at random, the explanation , *mōstre* ', , *abeste of y^e see & y^e land* '.
- 588 thay be rather suche as the Cocatrice] *Coll.* : *Imo & crocodilus*. The translator mistook *crocodilus* for *cocatrice*, which, as he explains in the margin, , *wil kyll a man with a loke.* ' In fact in the xvith century the word *cocatrice* represented both the βασιλισκος of the Greeks, and the *Regulus* of the Romans. Its power of killing with its eyes is commented upon by Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, viii, 78; xxix, 66; Bartholomeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, xviii, 15, &c. ; it was rarely identified with the crocodile in English : cp. *NED* (1b) and Nares, s. v. Cockatrice.
- 589 withowt dissimulation] *Coll.* : *omissis cavillis*.
- 591-593 them that thay hate... them that thay loue] , *the things that &a.* ' would have been a clearer translation of *odiosis* and *favorabilibus*.
- 595 J shall paynte it before youre eyes] *Coll.* : *Quin addam Apodixim mathematicam*.
- 596 the bysshope of Rome] *Coll.* : *Romanus Pontifex* : cp. *PD*, 176, n.
- 601 O new partakeres] Erasmus : *O novos favores*.
- 607 be keyyd styлле] in Latin only : *servantur*.
- 608 any litle some of monaye offerid] *Coll.* : *si quid est nummorum, aut levioris pretii*.
- 617 y^t was purchasyd for the honor of her sone] the

- original reads, on the contrary : *illud honoris gratia cessit filio*.
- 636 seelyd ouer with wodde] *Coll.* : *ligneo tabulatu constructum*.
- 655 So moche more as thay persayue youre deuocyō, so moche larger reliques wyl thay shew to you] inexact rendering of : *Quo latius se spargat religio, alia aliis locis ostenduntur*.
- 660 many lytle offerynges makythe a heuy boxe] the original is much pithier : *Fit cito per multas præda petita manus*; cp. 'Many littles make a mickle' : Hazl., 310; Bohn, 449.
- 662 chaplens] the word *mystagogi* of the *Coll.* has been rendered in several ways : *our ladyes chaplenes* (l. 760); *mystycall chapleyn* (l. 956); *sexten* (l. 714, &a.); *holy Sexten* (l. 1033); *mayster parson* (l. 1741); — *the keper of* (or *he that sate by*) *the hede* (ll. 1702, 1714, 1735).
- 678 gyue some thyng to hym that standythe by] unadequate translation of : *ut dent adstante quopiam*.
- 689 cōuayance] = jugglery, sleight of hand; the Latin has the euphemism : *mira dexteritate*.
- 703 lest that you should make a lye] Erasmus wrote : *ne quid erres*.
- 707 great menes] *Coll.* : *nobilium*.
- 721 at hand] in the *colloquium* the following sentence is added : *Nam ad hujus aram fugere decreverat, si valva patuisset*, evidently, in order to place himself in the immunity of consecrated ground.
- 722 now commythe the myrakle] the original merely says : *ecce rem inauditam*; in the following sentence the translator rendered *admirandæ narrationis* again by 'myrakle' (*PD*, 727).

- 738 whiche wynnat lye] probably the words , & they ' were omitted here by mistake after , whiche ' : cp. *Coll.* : *quæ si non mentiuntur*.
- 746 another plate... in quantyte and fourme like to a cheste] the translator did not understand the text of the original : *Erat & altera lamina, cellæ* (= niche, opening) *figuram ac magnitudinem referens*.
- 754 the knyght] *Coll.* : *prior eques*.
- 778 we had sene all the relyques] *Coll.* : *ædituus nos nihil celasset reliquorum*. The translator read *reliquiorum* instead of *reliquorum* : it was perhaps a variant, or a misprint in one of the first editions. Later translations (Bailey, 343; Nichols, 19), which have , Relicks ' as well, were evidently misled by the *Pylgremage*; cp. p. lxxv.
- 782 a litle howsse] in Latin *tectum* (= a shed : cp. *PD*, 786, 819).
- 783 in wynter tyme whan y^t there was litle rowme to couer the reliques] Erasmus' text is quite different : *hiberno tempore, cum nix obtexisset omnia* : the translator evidently mistook *nix* for *uix*. Cp. Nichols, 20, 88; Bailey, 343.
- 800 one parte of your tale] Latin : *una pars fabulæ*.
- 807 Many yeres agone] Erasmus wrote : *aliquot secula*.
- 819 rafteres that hold vpe that howsse] the original has : *tigna quæ culmos sustinent*.
- 825 broght hyther so longe agoo] *Coll.* : *e longinquo delatam*.
- 830 the skyne of a bayre whiche had hangyd be the rafteres a longe season] Erasmus : *pervetustam ursi pellem tignis affixam*.
- 844 in case] Latin : *etiamsi*.

- 854 It may welbe a strāge thyngē, but no maruayle]
the opposition of the original was lost in the
rendering : *Novum fortasse dici possit, mirum*
nequaquam.
- 870 gentles] this word is not recorded in *NED* : it is
probably a contracted form of, — if not a misprint
for — gentiles(se), gentillessē : Old French *gen-*
tillessē : *NED* ; Palsgr., 224 b.
- 883 chalke] in Latin : *cretam tritam.*
- 897 at the ende of the aultre] Erasmus wrote : *in*
extremo altaris gradu.
- 901 we had mayd redy] Latin : *pararam.*
- 924 my eyes waggyd] in the original : *fallebant oculi.*
- 925 daunsyd] a few words of the *Coll.* were not
translated here : & *candidior aliquanto afful-*
gebat eucharistia.
- 927 a table & a.] Erasmus wrote : *tabellam... qualem*
apud Germanos afferunt, qui in pontibus telos
exigunt ; the words *illis petacibus tabellis* of the
next sentence were rendered by , *suche crauyngē*
boxes '. These *tabellæ* were without doubt the
open wooden boxes attached to longer or shorter
handles, by which collectors can come within
reach of people at a certain distance without
disturbing them too much, and without upsetting
the money already collected. Simular *tabulæ* are
still in use in many churches on the continent.
This sense of *table* is quite uncommon ; it occurs
(as already explained : cp. p. l) in the *Articles of*
Inquiry for Walsingham, and in the translation
of this Colloquy by Bailey, who, evidently under
the influence of the *Pylgremage*, rendered here
tabella by , *a kind of Table* ' and , *craving Tables* '
(Bailey, 345 ; cp. *Introduction*, p. lxxv).

- 935 by a certayne &c.] *Coll.* : *per interpretem ejus linguæ pulcre peritum, & juvenem blandæ cujusdam eloquentiæ... percunctatus sum, quam potui civilissime, &c.*
- 939 Robert alderisse] *Coll.* : *Robertus Aldrisius*; the translator does not seem to have known his countryman Robert Aldrich or Aldridge : cp. p. xxxvii; Nichols, 97; &c.
- 945 certayne newfanglyd felowes] *Coll.* : *impiis quibusdam.*
- 953 owr lady herselffe] *Coll.* : *matrem ipsam nuper puerperam.*
- 957 with þ holy ghoste] the *Coll.* merely reads : *numine quopiam* : cp. *PD*, 1295, where the same term is rendered by these identical words.
- 958 castynge at vs a frounyng lōke, as & if he wold haue shote at vs y^t horryble thonderbolte of the greate curse] Erasmus only wrote : *nos intuens oculis stupentibus, ac velut horrore vocem blasphemam execrantibus.*
- 964 & old] added by the translator.
- 981 noues] *Coll.* : *hierophanta ex illis Minoribus.*
- 986 descrybe] *Coll.* : *pingere.*
- 990 frontlet] = foreheadband; *old French* : *frontal* : *NED*; part of a lady's attire in those times; here used for all the ornaments : *Coll.* : *mundo.*
- 995 cheffe of all women Mary the mayd] in Latin : *sola fœminarum omnium mater & virgo.*
- 1014 The lyght... was but litle] Erasmus wrote : *Lumen... erat ambiguum.*
- 1021 came but to smale effecte] *Coll.* : *non erat admodum lætus exitus*; Ogygius replies : *Imo multo lætissimus*: the translator did not feel that Ogygius thus corrected Menedemus' statement, and so the

- dialogue lost in vivacity.
- 1024 take harte of grasse] Heyw., 149; Farmer, 158; Clerk, 56; &c.
- 1025 my harte was almost in my hose] cp. Bohn, 241; Heyw., 65; Hazl., 230; Farmer, 158; Erasmus wrote : *cor in genua deciderat*; cp. Homer, *Ilias*, xv, 280 : *πᾶσιν δὲ παρὰ ποσὶ κάππεσε θυμός*.
- 1033 whiche the... Sexten dyd open to vs] in Latin : *ad quam mystagogus nos relegarat*.
- 1038 Linceus] Erasmus in his *Parabolæ* makes the *Lynceus* see through an oak, in his *Adagia* through the ground, through rocks and trees, but not a wall : EOO, I, 583, E, 604, c; II, 427, E; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxviii, 122.
- 1043 Well, now all doubtēs be discussyd] the corresponding text in the *Colloquium* is a question : *Excussa est omnis dubitatio* ?
- 1045 doubtyd so moche] *Coll.* : *subdubitassem*.
- 1061 whiche dyd make hym pryuy to a certayne mayde] Erasmus : *Is jam adornantem reditum* [not translated], *admonuit esse virginem quandam*... — In the *Coll.* two more sentences : *abunde felicem futurum* &a. and *Nam cæteras reliquias* &a. are dependent on *admonuit*; the translator did not connect them in the rendering with , dyd make him pryuy to ', so that the English text differs from the original.
- 1064 whiche were an excedyngē precyous relyque] in Latin : *abunde felicem futurum*.
- 1067 it] *Coll.* : *portionem aliquam*.
- 1075 but was it nat withowt any goodhope] the text of the *Coll.* is quite different : & *quidem præter spem* (i. e., *lac Virginis obtinuit*).
- 1085 commaundyd all to auoyd the place, and make

- syllence] the translator did not understand the original : *religiose stipulatur silentium*; cp. PD, 1102.
- 1091 our ladyes aultre in Paryse, whiche standythe &c.] some details of the original are left untranslated or were omitted : *ara divæ Virginis, quæ colitur Lutetiæ in Augusto templo, utrinque &c.*
- 1102 nat without great instance, and moche prayer he dyd <viz., ... prayer that he, the Englishman should do> that whiche he <the Frenchman himself> was mouyd <had intended, had vowed> to doo] the rendering is hardly intelligible even with the Latin text : *multis obtestationibus adstricto* <scil. Anglo>, *ut faceret quod fuerat ipse* <i. e. Gallus> *facturus*.
- 1107-9 Chanones... whiche were yt as we call Regulares. Thay be yet in the abbaye of saynt Genoveffe] Erasmus' text is again different : *canonicis... qui tum temporis adhuc dicebantur Regulares, quales adhuc sunt apud Divam Genovefam*.
- 1114 this is a godly tale] the Latin text is much more incisive : *Pulcre certe sibi constat hæc narratio*.
- 1116 Byshopes whiche... authorite (l. 1123)] the corresponding passage of the *Colloquium*, indicating that some suffragan bishops had granted indulgences to those who should visit Our Lady of Walsingham and offer their gifts, is completely misunderstood by the translator.
- 1124 is there dayes in hell] Erasmus' pun on *dies* (1° light, and 2° space of 24 hours) could hardly be rendered : *Etiam apud inferos dies est ?*
- 1126 tyme.] after this word *Me*. was forgotten by the translator or the printer.
- 1129 whan one parte is gone another dothe encrease]

incorrect translation of : *Subscatet enim subinde quod dent.*

1131 Canaidus] evidently a mistake for , the Danaids ', whom the translator does not seem to know.

1145 pardon bagge] Latin : *scriniolum*.

1148 Ye but you desyre to be to ryche] *Coll.* : *Quin optas ut totus fias aureus.*

1150 there was some good holy man whiche dyd gyue this argumente of holynes] the translator did not understand the Latin text : *Addebatur & illud pii cujusdam candoris argumentum*. Cp. p. lxxiv.

1163 dyd gyue] *Coll.* : *communicarat*.

1164 suppose.] here should be placed the *Me.* of l. 1168, as in the *Coll.* the words corresponding to , For whā he was &a. ' are spoken by *Menedemus*.

1165 an old man] Latin : *natu grandi*.

1165 he was so happy y^t he sukkyd] *Coll.* : *Cui... contigit gustare*.

1169 hony sukker... mylke sukker] Erasmus called him *mellifluum* and *lactifluum*.

1174 the stone y^t he whiche sukkyd knelyd apon] the original is different : *saxo, cui forte lactans insidebat*.

1180 if that any thyng of valure were offeryd, so y^t any body were present to see thaym y^e Sextens mayd great haste for feare of crafty cōuayēce, lokyng apō thaym as thay wold eate thaym. Thay poynte at hym] this passage is unintelligible : the Latin text reads : *<dum paramus abitum> ... si quid offerretur spectatu dignum circumspectantes, rursum adsunt mystagogi, limis intuentur, digito subnotant* <evid. nos, namely Erasmus and his companion : consequently there

- should be here *us* and *me*, instead of *thaym* and *hym*>.
- 1189 as tho thay wold speake to thaym that stand by
if thay durste haue be bold] Erasmus wrote
simply : *videbantur compellaturi si fuisset
audacie satis*.
- 1193-1194 &a. : hym] the *Colloquium* uses the plural
here.
- 1195 at laste he cam] Latin : *Tandem unus aggressus*.
- 1198 a table of my vowe] Latin : *votivam tabellam*.
- 1215 veryly.] here again *Me.* was left out by mistake.
- 1221 maysters] Erasmus : *Præpositi*.
- 1225 prior posterior] the *Colloquium* has here : ὕστερό-
πρωτον, whereas the corresponding texts for ll.
1205 and 1222 is : πρῶτος ὕστερος.
- 1226 Jt is he that is nexte to the prioure, for there
priour is posterior] indistinct rendering of : *Hic
qui Priori proximus est, Prior est posterior*.
- 1250 gyuyn me] a word such as ,somethyng', or ,a
present' (*Coll.* : *præmiolum*), seems to have been
left out here.
- 1255 this table] the *Coll.* does not mention this ,votive
table', but only ,*litteras*', leading up to the allu-
sion to *grammatophorus* on the next line, which
was translated by ,caryoure' : *PD*, 1256.
- 1258 at her hedde and at her fette] the original text
has : *Angeli... a manibus atque a pedibus*, which
evidently was not understood.
- 1261 the blokke that our ladye lenyd apon] another
allusion which the translator failed to understand :
trabe, in qua Virgo mater visa est consistere; cp.
PD, 2036-57.
- 1271 if you accompanied with yowre wyffe] *Coll.* :

si... fuit tibi res cum uxore.

1273 apon it] a few words of the original were left untranslated : ME. *Ostende : nihil periculi.* OG. *En tibi.*

1290 to speake a mysse] *Coll. : lingue lapsus.*

1300 That litle body hathe smale powre to worke myrakles] the *Colloquium* reads : *Moles non multum habet momenti ad edenda miracula.* It is difficult to vindicate the English rendering : either , smale powre ' means , little or no influence, no bearing, no signification ' (in as far as the miraculous power is concerned); or , no ' fell out after , hathe '.

1302 carte lode... hylle] *Coll. : non hamaxiceum aut colossæum, sed monti justo parem.*

1309 the name of a tode] viz., *bufonitis*; in French : *crapaudine.*

1321 whiche they see nat indede] *Coll. : quid non vident... ?*

1354 Adamand stone] *Coll. : magnete* : the Latin word *Adamas*, and consequently the English ' Adamant ' were used both in the sense of diamond and of magnet, which constantly caused confusion : cp. Marbod, *de Gemmis*, 24-29; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxxvii, 61; V. Rose, *Aristoteles' De Lapidibus und Arnoldus Saxo* (in *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* : xviii) : Berlin, 1875 : 428; Ch.-V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen Age* : Paris, 1911 : 14, 164; Nares, s. v. Adamant; *Invl.*, 167.

1367 wyldfyre] *Coll. : vivum ignem.*

1367 Chelazia] *Coll. : chalazia.*

1370 cast in to] probably , it ' fell out after , cast '.

1372 Carcinas] *Coll. : carcinias.*

- 1373 crabfishe] *Coll.* : *cancris marini*.
- 1374 vyper] a long series of wonderful stones mentioned here in the *Colloquium* were left out.
- 1399 if that you put it in vynagre, it wyll swyme, thoge you wold thruste it downe with violence] what Erasmus wrote is quite different : *si admoveas aceto, innatare motis etiam membris*.
- 1409 so many todes] *Coll.* : *tantum buffonum*.
- 1427 reioysynge of so maruelouse ryches] *Coll.* : *gratularer Virgini tam beatam opulentiam*.
- 1441 relyque] *Coll.* : *donum*.
- 1444 woden relyque] *Coll.* : *lignum*; also on *PD*, 1450.
- 1448 bestraght] distracted, bereft of wit : *NED*, in which the oldest instance quoted is of 1547.
- 1451 hys nekke] *Coll.* : *illius cervicali*.
- 1456 dronkē dropsye] *Coll.* : *parænia fortasse*.
- 1479 y^t buttythe apon Fraūce] *Coll.* : *quæ Galliam... spectat*.
- 1482 ij. Abbayes] *Coll.* : *duo monasteria pene contigua* (these two last words were left untranslated).
- 1489 w^t a sorte of monkes] *Coll.* : *cum paucis... monachis*; — sorte, viz., a number, apparently without any idea of a particular class : cp. *TD*, 775; *PD*, 1604; Hall.
- 1497 many argumentes] *Coll.* : *rerum vestigia*.
- 1502 withe hys bryghtnes and shynynge he dothe lyght hys neybures, & the old place whiche was wontyd to be most holy, now in respecte of it, is but a darke hole and a lytle cotage] the *Coll.* has a different sense here : *Itaque nunc suo splendore vicini luminibus officit* <i. e., *majori gloria gloriam ejus offuscat*, eclipses him, hides him from the view>, & *locum antiquitus religiosissimum velut obscurat*.

- 1514 grauen in a stone] *Coll. : saxo sculpti.*
- 1518 thayr surnames Tracy, Breton, and Beryston]
 Erasmus wrote : *cognomina, Tusci, Fusci, Berri.*
 , Tracy ' is evidently William de Tracy ; , Breton '
 is Richard Brito ; and ' Beryston ' seems either a
 corruption of, or a printers' mistake for, the trans-
 lation of the surname of Reginald Fitz-Urse
 (Beresone : *Coll. : Berri*) : Cp. Th. Stapleton,
Tres Thomae : Douai, 1588 : 159 ; Nichols, 111.
- 1527 tables that be sett byfore aultres] *Coll. : in auratis*
altaribus, viz., the retables or triptychs over the
 predella, generally representing on a golden
 ground the scene of the crucifixion : cp. *PD*, 1632.
- 1528 lest any man hereafter shuld vsurpe any cause
 of thayr prayse] ambiguous rendering of : *ne quis*
posthac usurpet gloriæ caussa (cp. the next
 lines).
- 1530 Thay be payntyd byfore mennes eyes] Latin :
Ingeruntur oculis.
- 1535 of this garde] in the *Colloquium : satellites.*
- 1550 Thay do so dylygētly watche lest any mā shulde
 entre in to the quere <i. e., choir> of yron, that
 thay wyll skarsly <s>uffre a man to loke apon it]
 the meaning of the *Coll.* is quite different here :
Cancelli ferrei sic arcent ingressum, ut conspec-
tum admittant ejus spatii, quod est inter extre-
mam ædem & chori, quem vocant, locum.
- 1558 vndre the whiche there is a certayne wykylt with
 a barre y^t openythe the dore apon the northe syde]
 the translator failed to understand Erasmus' text :
sub quibus testudo quædam aperit ingressum ad
latus Septemtrionale.
- 1561 a certayne aultre] *Coll. : altare ligneum.*
- 1564 set there for no other purpose, but to be a olde

monumēt or sygne, that in thos dayes there was no greate superfluyte] quite different is the corresponding text in the *Colloquium* : *nec ulla re visendum, nisi monumento vetustatis, luxum hisce temporibus exprobrante.*

1568 sayd his ... good nyght] *Coll.* : *vale dixisse.*

1571 the poynte of the sword that styryd abowt the braynes of thys blessyd martyr. And there lye his braynes shed apon the yerthe, wherby you may well knowe y^t he was nere deade] an unintelligible rendering of : *cuspis gladii, quo præsecutus est vertex optimi præsulis, ac cerebrum confusum, videlicet quo mors esset præsentior.*

1577 grat] (*Coll.* : *ferri*) apparently , grate ', metal worked into steel, as in the making of weapons : Hall.; this sense is not recorded in *NED*; the meaning of , Collision of weapons ' which is given there, cannot be meant here. — Possibly , grat ' is a confusion with, or a misprint for, , grot ', fragment, particle, atom : *NED*. Cp. *PD*, 1877.

1579 crowdes] = crypt : cp. Nichols, 116; *NED*.

1589 Acrese] Latin : *Acrensis* : cp. Nichols, 120.

1592 that noble champyō] *Coll.* : *antistes ille.*

1596 the mōkes slotefulnes] *Coll.* : *monachis ipsis.*

1615 Gratiane colte] in the *Colloquium* : *Gratianus Pullus* : cp. *Introduction*, p. xxxviii. The fact that the translator rendered Pullus by *colte*, implies that he mistook , colet ' for , colt ', both of which may have sounded as homonyms to him in the days when he was gaining a certain acquaintance with English : cp. H. de Vocht, *Chaucer and Erasmus*, in *Englische Studien*, xli : Leipzig, 1910; p. 390. Still the form , colet ' for , colt ' is not recorded in *NED*.

- 1618 toward pylgremages] the words of the *Colloquium* : *partem hanc religionis*, apply rather to the cult of relics.
- 1623 He dysplesyd &c.] this forms a query in the *Coll.*
- 1652 vestmêtes of veluet & clothe of golde] *Coll.* : *pompa vestium holosericarum*.
- 1653 what a some] some = somme, sum, amount : Hall.; *Coll.* : *quæ vis*.
- 1655 crosse staffe] = crose-staff, the bishop's crook or crosier : *NED*.
- 1662 robe] *Coll.* : *pallium*.
- 1665 a napkyn full of swette bloody, wher with saynt Thomas wpyd bothe hys nose and hys face] the translator corrupted the sense of the *Colloquium* : *sudarium, sudoris ex collo contracti, manifestasque sanguinis notas retinens*.
- 1688 we were ladde to greater thynges] incorrect rendering of : *deducimur ad superiora* (i. e., *loca* : cp. the next lines).
- 1692 the face] the *Colloquium* reads here : *tota facies* ; probably the head, viz., a portion of the relics of the head (cp. *PD*, 1581) of the martyr encased in a golden shrine adorned with gems, shaped so as to represent the head or bust, which was a very common form for reliquaries in the Middle Ages ; the rest of the body was kept in a larger shrine : ... *thecam, in qua reliquum sancti viri corpus quiescere dicitur* (*PD*, 1845) ; cp. *PD*, 1703, 1714, 1735 : he ... that kepyd the golden hedde (*Coll.* : *assessor capitis aurei*) ; Nichols, 118, 160, 165, 225, 245.
- 1700 Gratiã gote hym lytle fauoure] the translator did not reproduce the pun of the *Coll.* : *minimum iniit gratiæ comes meus Gratianus* ; he missed

- it as well on *PD*, 1907, where a similar remark of Erasmus is rendered in nearly the same words.
- 1733 leane] Latin : *sumens... mutuo*; , leane' is the older form, to which , lend ', began to be substituted already in early Middle English : *NED*.
- 1742 byte hys lyppe] Erasmus wrote : *porrigere labra*.
- 1764 syluer plate] *Coll.* : *in vasis templi*.
- 1771 holywater pottes] *Coll.* : *baptisteria*.
- 1774 so many payre of organes... so costely & chargeable ? For one payre can not serue vs] the original reads : *quorsum organorum... immensi sumtus ? nec unicis interim contenti sumus* ; — a pair of organs = an organ : Nares.
- 1781 liynge by the walles] is not represented in the *Coll.*; to lie by the wall = to lie dead before interment : Hall.; here the expression seems to have the sense of , to be dying ', since it is followed by the words , dye for hungre & colde '.
- 1787 superstityon beyond mesure] *Coll.* : *immodica quadam pietate*.
- 1790 the euyll conscience and behauyor] *Coll.* : *diversus morbus*.
- 1794 in a maner great men, & of pryncys] , of ' must have fallen out before , great '.
- 1800 sacrylege] herè evidently used as adverb (not recorded in *NED*); possibly *by*, or *with*, or *as* was omitted.
- 1800 hold ther handes] ambiguous rendering of *Coll.* : *contrahunt manus suas*.
- 1803 mouyde to robbynge & vaynynge] *Coll.* : *invitantur ad rapinam*; , to vayn ' : judging from the synonym joined to it, and from the Latin text, this verb has the meaning of , to rob, to steal ' ; I have not found another instance for that sense.

- 1820 to folow ther doynge... thay may not, nor be
any thyng dysposede] obscure rendering of :
imitari nec licet, nec libet.
- 1824 cōclusyon of y^e tale] *Coll.* : *fabulæ catastrophē.*
- 1828 the cheffe of them all] *Coll.* : *summus ille mystagogus.*
- 1843 vnlearnede] prob. , in ' or , of ' was omitted.
- 1845 y^e holle body of the holy mā] the Latin text
reads : *reliquum sancti viri corpus* : cp. *PD*,
1581, 1692.
- 1854 here ?] the words following are spoken by Ogy-
gyus, and should be preceded by , *Ogy* '.
- 1858 of great mnlitude] *Coll.* : *prægrandibus.*
- 1862 the couer takyn a way] *Coll.* : *sublato tegumento* ;
the cover, viz. the , shryne of wod ' , covering the
whole of the , shryne of gold ' (*PD*, 1850), was
probably pulled up by means of ropes and pulleys,
as was done, e. g., for St. Cuthbert's shrine in
Durham Cathedral.
- 1877 grats] apparently , *grates* ' : *Coll.* : *cancellis* ;
cp. *PD*, 1577.
- 1882 You show vnto me blinde ryches] *Coll.* : *Cæcas
mihi diuitias narras* : a pun on the meaning of
cæcus — that which is in the dark, and, as well,
unknown, secret. — Hence on *PD*, 1887 : , the
secret tresure she knoweth her selfe ' .
- 1887 To loke vpō this, is richer] apparently this passage
should be read : To loke vpō, this is richer : *Coll.* :
Specie longe superat.
- 1921 after the maner of puppettes] incorrect rendering
of : *veluti poppysmum imitans.*
- 1934 from the see cost, to seale in to yowr cuntre]
Latin : *a littore tuo.*
- 1937 as from a &c. to l. 1943 euer.] this passage is a

- very confused rendering of : *magis infame fraudibus ac rapinis, quam ullæ sunt Maleæ naufragiis*; — , then is of... ioperdy in the see, be that hyll Malea' (ll. 1940-41), has perhaps to be explained as follows : then <there> is <spoken> of (=for)... ioperdy in the see, be (=by, i. e., about, concerning : *NED*) that hyll Malea &a.
- 1955 betwene the shoo and the soule] *Coll.* : *inter suppactas soleas*.
- 1959 poer & myserable] the Latin term : *sceleratum*, was evidently not understood neither here, nor on *PD*, 1980.
- 1983 hange them vpon the gallowes] *Coll.* : *subigerem in crucem*.
- 1989 go fourty myllys aboute] in the *Coll.* : *quaslibet ambages*.
- 1996 landynge] Erasmus wrote : *exitus*.
- 2001 an ape is euer an ape] *Hazl.*, 58; *Bohn*, 310; &c.
- 2018 an almes howse for olde people] *Coll.* : *mendicabulum aliquot seniculorum* : cp. *PD*, 2100.
- 2025 an yerne whope] *Coll.* : *æreo circulo*.
- 2042 the spottel] uncommon form of , spittle' (Latin : *sputum*).
- 2058 not to thes thynges] , do ' was either forgotten after , to ', or was intended for it.
- 2067 to a venemouse best] *Coll.* : *noxiae bestiae*.
- 2079 be vnprofitable] *Coll.* : *incommodi sunt*.
- 2084 ther successours] *Coll.* : *successorum inaugurationibus*.
- 2098 vnto the ordre and presthode] *Coll.* : *sacerdotum ordini*.
- 2106 the comyn people] *Coll.* : *vulgo*.
- 2116 the gates of hell] *Coll.* : *fauces Averni*.
- 2118 wotsaue] vouchsafe.

- 2124 vndynede] probably formed on the model of the Latin term *impransus*.
 2144 J begynne to be well at ease in my stomacke] *Coll.* : *incipit dolere stomachus*, which implies that , not ' was forgotten after , begynne '.
 2174 J had leuer haue no tales at all] Erasmus wrote : *Malim inentas fabulas*.
 2175 dyner] *Coll.* : *prandiolum*.
 2182 after ye haue told me the resydew] *Coll.* : *ubi tu peroraveris*.
 2195 my cownsell] *Coll.* : *admonitu*.
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IV. — DIUERSORIA

- 44 the sweet Mermaides] *Coll.* : *Sirenes*.
 59 poore cheere] the litotes is the translator's.
 71 yea, thys is] *Coll.* : *Agnosco*.
 77 in other places] added by the translator.
 82 at <*i. e.*, ad> omnia quare] apparently an expression originary from court or schoolroom : cp. *TD*, 105, *n*.
 84 Enterlude] Erasmus wrote : *fabulam*.
 97 when our table was takē vp] *Coll.* : *peracto convivio*.
 123 Duche lande] in the old sense of , Germany ' ; similarly , Duche men ' for , Germans ' , *D*, 383 and 510.
 124 shall go for my monye] *Coll.* : *mihi magis arri-dent* : cp. W. Haughton's comedy : *English-men For my Money* : or... *A Woman will haue her Will* (London, W. White, 1616).

- 141 stoue window] Latin : *fenestellam æstuarii*; the *æstuarium* or *hypocaustum* of the *Colloquium* is regularly translated by ,stoue' when it has the sense of ,heated room, place heated by a stove' : cp. *D*, 143, 167, 179, 208, 246, 424; when *hypocaustum* means the heating apparatus itself, it is rendered by ,Chimney' : *D*, 182, or ,fire' : *D*, 248.
- 141 pereth out] this verb, generally intransitive, has here the sense of : to protrude, to stick out; *Coll.* : *profert*.
- 142 snaile] Erasmus wrote : *testudo*.
- 144 in the Tropick of Cancer] *Coll.* : *solstitium æstivum*.
- 151 after your own diet] ,diet' has here the sense of ,way of acting, manner'; *Coll.* : *tuo more* : cp. *NED*.
- 153 some what occupied or haunted] *Coll.* : *celebrius*.
- 164 after a niuer facion] *Coll.* : *ægre ac perparce*; ,niuer' is not recorded elsewhere to my knowledge : maybe it is a misprint for, if not a dialect form of, ,niger' = niggard.
- 169 Euery man is vsed to this generally] inaccurate rendering of : *id* (i. e., *hypocaustum*) *est unum omnibus commune*.
- 182 Chimney] properly = hearth with the flue to it; here used for ,stove'; Latin : *hypocaustum*.
- 202 vnder one] = on the same occasion : Hall.
- 204 the neerest way to woorke] *Coll.* : *compendium*.
- 213 a communitye of lyfe] *Coll.* : *cœnobium*.
- 218 startops] startups : *Coll.* : *perones* : cp. Hall., Nares.
- 228 be eye] = eye intently, gape at (the prefix ,be-' rendering the meaning of the verb-root more

- intent); this word, occurring again on *D*, 349 (bee eye), is not recorded in *NED*.
- 228 an end] i. e., a part, a portion, here of time : the present instance seems to contradict the statement expressed in *NED* as how 'end' should have this sense only when used with adjectives of quantity : 'micel ende; most ende; none ende; a good, or great end' (*dial*).
- 243 fill the Cardinals cups at Rome] *Coll.* : *Cardinalibus Romanis esse a poculis*.
- 258 ye haue this in your nose for your labor] cp. Udall, 65, 146, 164, &c. : cast him in the nose; *Coll.* : *audis*.
- 294 common Bathes] *Coll.* : *thermæ publicæ*.
- 295 are laied a side] *Coll.* : *frigent*; Erasmus' pun on *thermæ* and *frigent* does not seem to have been understood by the translator.
- 301 layeth as many tables] the *Coll.* only reads : *linteis insternit mensas*; if the rendering had been more accurate, the remark about the linen (*D*, 303) would have been more appropriate, and the slowness of the proceedings better pictured.
- 303 what baggage] *Coll.* : *quam non Milesiis*.
- 306 from the sailes of ships] Erasmus wrote : *ex antennis*.
- 311 cursye] viz., curtsy, in the sense of : difference of rank and standing.
- 313 They are all one &a.] added by the translator, as well as the saying (not quoted in any of the collections of proverbs) : 'there is heere no difference betwene the shepherd and his dog'.
- 317 this is the olde facion when all is done, that Tiranny &a.] in the *Colloquium* : *Hæc est illa vetus æqualitas, quam nunc &a.* : on the strength

of the corresponding text in Latin, it is hardly probable that , done ' should mean here , performed ', as it would have neither reason, nor sense; maybe it has here the sense of , kin ' : *viz.*, when all are of one family; cp. : , Quat dones man ert þou ? ' *Alexander*, 2906 (1400-1450) : *NED*. Still it is possible too, that it is merely a misprint for , one '.

324 frowning minion] *Coll.* : *Ganymedes*.

326 trenchar] written , trenchoure ' on ll. 439 & 446; *Coll.* : *pinacium ligneum*.

342 what small geare] *Coll.* : *quam non fumosum*.

342 Scoole men or Sophisters] *Coll.* : *Sophistas*.

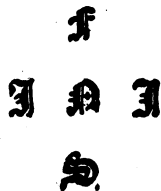
351 as if the Deuyll should loke ouer LJNCOLN] Erasmus wrote : *quasi interfectori*. This saying probably originated from a grim-looking statue or a gargoyle representing the devil on one of the towers of Lincoln Cathedral : cp. Heyw., 154; Fuller, 78; Bohn, 189; Hazl., 482; Farmer, 132; *NED*.

363 soupe] probably equivalent to , sop, broth ', (not recorded in *NED*). The corresponding term in the *Colloquium* is *offa* : which word in other instances is translated in this *Dialogue* by , soppes or slices of bread ', l. 368, and , Soppes ', l. 384; , soup ' in the modern sense is more recent : the earliest instance quoted in *NED* is of 1653.

364 crookling] *Coll.* : *latranti*; the word *latrare* in the original seems to suggest that , crookling ' has not the sense of curving, crooking (*NED*); — but that of crookling = , cooing ' like a dove; or of , crockling ', the noise made by cranes (*NED*); still the association of hunger and the sound made by those birds is quite uncommon.

- 365 hard at the heeles of that] Latin : *mox*.
- 370 brothe of pulce] the original is more general :
jure leguminum.
- 372 fishe] in the *Colloquium* : *<aliquid> salsamentorum*.
- 373 potage] in Latin : *pultis aliquid*; cp. D, 384.
- 375 they *<i. e. the>* world beinge well amended with
them] i. e., they are feeling more friendly towards
the world, their surroundings and circumstances,
as a sequel of a satisfied appetite : *Coll.* : *probe*
domito stomacho.
- 379 whip it away] *Coll.* : *subito tollunt*.
- 381 Enterludes or comedies] in the *Colloquium* : *fabularum*.
- 383 Chories] unusual plural form of ‘chorus’; there
can be no question of a misprint for ‘choires’,
since that spelling of the word ‘quire’ was not
introduced before the end of the xviith century :
NED.
- 386 inde] = ende (not recorded amongst the spellings
in *NED*). The translator missed the point of the
Colloquium : *extremus actus*.
- 396 Grimson] probably a jocular name made after the
example of ‘grimsir’ (*NED*); maybe a personage
from a popular play.
- 400 they caste a great loue] Latin : *Amant*.
- 427 as well as hearte canne thinke, or, as the day is
broad and longe to] *Coll.* : *suaviter*.
- 429 longe to.] a few words of the *Coll.* should have
been translated here : *atque illic desidendum est*
volenti nolenti, usque ad multam noctem. Through
their omission, the remark in William’s answer
loses its pointedness.
- 437 that old Sinicoxe] *Coll.* : *ille barbatus*. ‘Sinicoxe’

- is possibly another name derived from a popular play; maybe it is a jocular transformation of *Cynic*, cynicker : one of the philosophers conspicuous for their snarling scorn and for their beards (the form is not recorded in *NED*).
- 443 all the while] the *Colloquium* adds : *Charontem quempiam diceret*.
- 444 skoares] i. e., scores, lines, marks; this spelling is not recorded in *NED*.
- 451 dieugard] in *NED* ,dieugard' is explained as a polite and formal or spoken salutation, in opposition to a mere *beck* or *nod*. Cp. Heyw., 51 : ,And thus with a beck as good as a *dieu-gard*, She flang fro me ' ; Farmer, 133. Still the present instance shows that, at least in Hake's time, there was not that difference between a dieugard and a beck, as both were made , with <the> hed '.
- 456 if it strike in their braines] not in Latin.
- 460 vnegall] unjust.
- 479 Cabin] *Coll.* : *nidus*.
- 488 by roode] i. e., by the Roode, the Cross of our Lord; in *NED* no instance is recorded without , the '.
- 510 as men indifferente betweene both. Of <i. e. both of> theise two contries] *Coll.* : *ut ex his duabus gentibus mixti*.
- 512 first inhabiting the land] *Coll.* : ἀντόχθονας *Anglos*.
- 521 Packette] *Coll.* : *sarcinulam*.
- 522 to tell... our bellies full] Clerk, 42, 74, 82.



LISTS & INDEXES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

used for the Introductions and the Notes

The Roman numerals in ordinary type added to any of the abbreviations of the following list, refer to the volumes and parts of the volumes; the Roman numerals in *italics* and the figures indicate the pages — unless stated otherwise.

ADB = Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (56 vols.) : Leipzig, 1875-1912.

AgeEr. = P. S. ALLEN, *The Age of Erasmus* : Oxford, 1914.

Allen = P. S. ALLEN & H. M. ALLEN, *Opvs Epistolarvm Des. Erasmi Roterodami, denovo recognitvm et avctvm* : Oxford, from 1906. — **The figures refer to the letters and the lines.**
Allen, More = P. S. & H. M. ALLEN, *Sir Thomas More. Selections from his English Works and from the Lives by Erasmus & Roper* : Oxford, 1924.

AmHerb = Jos. AMES & Will. HERBERT, *Typographical Antiquities; or an Historical Account of the Origin and Progress of Printing in Great Britain and Ireland* (3 vols.) : London, 1785-1790.

Arber = Edward ARBER, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640* (5 vols.) : London-Birmingham, 1875-1894.

Audin = *Histoire de Thomas More...* par Th. STAPLETON, traduite du latin par Alex. MARTIN, avec une Introduction, des Notes et Commentaires par M. AUDIN : Liège, 1849.

Bailey = Nathan BAILEY, *All the Familiar Colloquies of Desiderius Erasmus, of Rotterdam, Concerning Men, Manners, and Things, translated into English* : London, 1725.

BB = Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie Générale des Pays-Bas (published by Ferd. van der HAEGHEN and R. van den BERGHE, with the collaboration of V. van der HAEGHEN and A. ROERSCH) : Ghent, from 1880.

Bib.Belg. = Valerius ANDREAS Desselius, *Bibliotheca Belgica : de Belgis Vita Scriptisque Claris* (2nd edit.) : Louvain, 1643.

- Bib. Er.* = [Ferd. van der HAEGHEN,] Bibliotheca Erasiana.
Répertoire des Œuvres d'Erasmus (3 vols.) : Ghent, 1893.
- Blach = Samuel BLACH, Die Schriftsprache in der Londoner Paulsschule zu Anfang des xvi. Jahrhunderts (bei Colet, Lily, Linacre, Grocyn) : Halberstadt, 1905.
- Blunt = J. H. BLUNT, The Reformation of the Church of England : its History, Principles and Results (2 vols.) : London, 1896, 1897.
- Bohn = Henry G. BOHN, A Handbook of Proverbs : London, 1860.
- Brand = John BRAND, Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain. Arranged, revised, and... enlarged, by Sir Henry Ellis (3 vols.) : London, 1849-1854.
- Bremond = Henri BREMOND, Le Bienheureux Thomas More (1478-1535) : Paris, 1904.
- Burton = W. B. [William BURTON], Seven Dialogues both pithie and profitable : London, 1606.
- CHEL* = A. W. WARD & A. R. WALLER, The Cambridge History of English Literature (14 vols.) : Cambridge, 1907-1916.
- Clarke = John CLARKE, *Erasmi Colloquia Selecta* : or, the Select Colloquies of Erasmus. With an English Translation : Nottingham, 1720.
- Clerk = Jo. CLERK Lincolniensis, *Phraseologia Puerilis Anglo-Latina*. The second Edition... by W. Du-gard : London, 1650.
- CMH* = The Cambridge Modern History : edited by A. W. WARD, G. W. PROTHERO & Stanley LEATHES : volumes I & II : Cambridge, 1904.
- Coll.* = ERASMUS' *Colloquium*, or the passage in it corresponding to the quotation from the translation referred to.
- Cranmer = John STRYPE, Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer (2 vols.) : Oxford, 1812.
- D* = *Diuersoria*, translated by E. H[AKE] : London, W. Griffyth, 1566 (reprinted here pp. 199-217). — The figures refer to the lines.
- Darlow = T. H. DARLOW & H. F. MOULE, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British & Foreign Bible Society : London, 1903.
- Delcourt = Joseph DELCOURT, Essai sur la Langue de Sir Thomas More d'après ses œuvres anglaises : Paris, 1914.
- DNB* = Sidney LEE, Dictionary of National Biography (reissue : 22 vols.) : London, 1908-1909.

- Drusius = I. DRUSIUS, *Proverbiorvm Classes Dvae*, In quibus explicantur Prouerbia sacra, & ex sacris litteris orta : item Sententiæ Salomonis, Allegoriæ, &c. : Franeker, 1690.
- Duff, *Cent.*, = E. Gordon DUFF, *A Century of the English Book-Trade (Bibliographical Society editions)* : London, 1905.
- Duff, *PrPr.* = E. Gordon DUFF, *The English Provincial Printers, Stationers and Bookbinders to 1557* : London, 1912.
- EE = [J. Clericus,] Desiderii ERASMI Opera Omnia : Tomvs Tertivs qvi complectitvr Epistolas, pluribus, quam ccccxv, ab Erasmo, aut ad Erasmus Scriptis auctiores (2 vols.; = EOO, III) : Leiden, 1703).
- Einenkel = Eugen EINENKEL, *Geschichte der Englischen Sprache. II. Historische Syntax (3rd edit.)* : Strassburg, 1916.
- Eng. Hist. Rev.* = The English Historical Review : London, from 1886.
- EOO = [J. Clericus,] Desiderii ERASMI Roterodami Opera Omnia (10 tomes) : Leiden, 1703-1706. — Cp. EE.
- Excerpts* = H. de VOCHT, *Excerpts from the Register of Louvain University from 1485 to 1527* (in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxvii, 89-105) : London, 1922.
- Farmer = John S. FARMER, *A Dialogue of the Effectual Proverbs in the English Tongue concerning Marriage* by John Heywood : London, 1906.
- Florio = John FLORIO, *Qveen Anna's New World of Words, Or Dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* : London, 1611.
- FG = J. FÖRSTEMANN & O. GÜNTHER, *Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus von Rotterdam* (xxvii. Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen) : Leipzig, 1904.
- Foxe = John FOXE, *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes, touching matters of the Church, wherein ar comprehended and described the great persecutions & horrible troubles, that haue bene wrought and practised by the Romishe Prelates, speciallve in this Realme of England and Scotlande, from the yeare of our Lorde a thousande, vnto the tyme nowe present* : London, John Day, 1563.
- Franz = Wilhelm FRANZ, *Orthographie, Lautgebung und Wortbildung in den Werken Shakespeares* : Heidelberg, 1905.
- Froude, *Hist.* — James Anthony FROUDE, *History of England*

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LIST OF PROVERBIAL SAYINGS AND EXPRESSIONS

occurring in these Colloquies

The proverbial sayings and expressions have been arranged alphabetically according to the principal words, for which modern orthography is used; the list has been made more effectual by abundant cross-references; the expressions themselves are quoted in their original forms; figures in heavier types indicate passages referred to in the *Notes*.

ado : without more adoe : <i>D</i> , 202; much a do : <i>MD</i> , 126, 412	away with... : <i>TD</i> , 429; <i>MD</i> , 716, 787
advantage : see blow	back : J haue not an hole smock to put on my backe : <i>MD</i> , 26
afar : J ... can not well affare nor away with... : <i>TD</i> , 429	bait : see fish
agree : agreinge lyke dogges and cattes : <i>MD</i> , 583	barrel : neyther barrel better hearing : <i>TD</i> , 962
all : at all assais : <i>PD</i> , 2085; when all is done : <i>D</i> , 124, 317; They are all one : <i>D</i> , 313; all vnder one : <i>D</i> , 202; that of all sauces : <i>D</i> , 137; for all that : <i>D</i> , 194; — see hear, play, tell, word	bear : see hand, hard
amended : see world	beard : spyte of theyr berdes : <i>MD</i> , 280
answer : aunswere (a<d> om- nia quare) : <i>D</i> , 82	behind : fer behynde the hande : <i>TD</i> , 1017
ape : an ape is euer an ape : <i>PD</i> , 2001	belly : tell... our bellies full : <i>D</i> , 522
ashamed : see head	bench : to ron in at the bench hole : <i>MD</i> , 78
asleep : when thou art a slepe : <i>TD</i> , 403	bestow : see money
assays : see all	better : it is hard chosyng of a better where there is neuer a good of them bothe : <i>TD</i> , 1008; no poynt better : <i>TD</i> , 1007; — see play
away : J... can [or might] not...	beyond : To beyonde home : <i>MD</i> , 125; — see God

- bill : *see* play
 blab : *see* play
 black : the blacke oxe neuer
 trode on hys fote : *MD*, 750;
 where... fynde suche blacke
 swannes : *TD*, 300
 blow : a... blowe that wolde
 aduauntage hym. xx. : *TD*,
 373; to chaunge halfe adosen
 drye blowes with : *TD*, 920
 body : bodye and bones : *MD*,
 60; — *see* heart
 bolt : she... bouted out all the
 hoole matter : *MD*, 479
 bone : the deuill hadde cast
 aboone betwene the man
 and the wife : *MD*, 138; to
 laye me on the bones : *MD*,
 76; — *see* body
 boner : bee boner and buxume :
 MD, 94
 born : *see* good
 bow : ye wil bow & forbere :
 MD, 735
 box : *see* little
 brains : if it strike in their
 braines : *D*, 457; J haue
 troubled my braynes : *MD*,
 754
 break : *see* first, loveday
 bring up : brought vp... vnder
 her fathers... wing : *MD*, 349
 broad : *see* live
 bulls : *see* sweat
 buxum : *see* boner
 calf : *see* wise
 call : what call you this in
 englyshe : *TD*, 908; call the
 by thy ryght name knaue
 in englysshe : *TD*, 365; —
 see yesterday
 can : *see* merry
 candle : *see* promise
 care : *see* live
 cark : *see* live
 cast : *see* love
 cat : *see* agree
 caterwaul : they go a catter-
 wallynge : *TD*, 619
 change : *see* blow
 check : churlysshe checkes :
 TD, 206
 cherry-fair : loue that... is...
 but a cheri faire : *MD*, 190
 choice : be at their choise :
 MD, 785
 chop : J chop cleane from... :
 MD, 303
 choose : *see* better
 Christ : Chryst spede vs : *MD*,
 846
 churlish : *see* checks
 clean : *see* chop, countenance
 cleave : *see* fingers
 cloak : *see* pretence
 clouts : *see* husband
 cock : set the cocke vpon the
 hoope : *TD*, 1030
 coil : They keepe like a coile
 with... : *D*, 421
 colour : crafty colour : *TD*,
 1003 (, 1047)
 come : *see* fair, effect
 comfort : that putteth me in
 good comfort : *MD*, 742
 conceit : put vs out of con-
 ceyte : *PD*, 1697
 conveyance : crafty conuay-
 ence : *PD*, 1184
 cost : *see* shame
 couch : *see* hogshead
 council : J may tell you in

cowncell : *PD*, 1276
 countenance : cleane stryken
 oute of countenaunce : *MD*,
 428
 crack : *see* play
 crafty : *see* colour, convey-
 ance, pretence
 Croesus : richer than Croeseus :
PD, 1073
 cross : *see* devil
 crow : as greate plentie... as
 of white crows : *MD*, 460
 cuff : a good cuffe... that
 shulde waye a pounce :
TD, 371
 cup : *see* merry
 cut : *see* head
 dance : ye brought your good
 man to folow your daunce :
MD, 193; — *see* devil
 dash : *see* first
 day : kept his day : *TD*, 898;
 — *see* fair, live
 decet : *see* non
 devil : The deuyl take me bodye
 and bones : *MD*, 60; the
 Deuyl... maye daunce in
 thy purse for euer a crosse
 that thou hast to kepe him
 forthe : *TD*, 645; as if the
 Deuyl should loke ouer Ljn-
 coln : *D*, 351; What the
 deuyl & a morren : *TD*, 262;
 the Deuill a whit : *D*, 481;
 — *see* bone
 die : the dyasse runne ayenst
 hym : *PD*, 425
 diet : vse... after your own
 diet : *D*, 151
 dieugard : he maketh a... dieu-
 gard with his hed : *D*, 451

difference : there is... no dif-
 ference betwene the shep-
 herd and his dog : *D*, 315
 dog : a dogge in a doblet :
TD, 109; — *see* agree, dif-
 ference
 done : *see* all
 doublet : *see* dog
 doubt : J put you out of doubt :
D, 405
 drink : to drynke a duetaunt :
TD, 131; we haue dronke
 harde : *TD*, 652; drynke thy
 skynne full : *TD*, 337
 drop : *see* sweat
 dry : *see* blow
 duetaunt : *see* drink
 dumps : Be neyther in your
 dumpes : *MD*, 806
 Dunstable : as playne as Dun-
 stable waye : *TD*, 910
 ear : we wer... by the eares
 together : *MD*, 73 (cp. *Long
 Meg of Westminster* : ed.
 Ch. Hindley : London, 1871 :
 ix, 12, 13); — *see* hear
 ease : be neuer well at ease
 but... : *TD*, 1120; — *see* penny
 easy : easy as water : *MD*, 196
 edge : *see* hard
 effect : This... came but to
 smale effecte : *PD*, 1021
 English : into our mother the
 Englishhe tonge : *PD*, 213;
 talke to hym in playne en-
 glyshe : *TD*, 917; — *see* call
 evil : take it euyll : *TD*, 870;
 — *see* money
 eye : *see* finger
 fages : *see* play
 fair : it commeth a day after

the faire : *MD*, 696
 fall : to fall downe vpon his
 marybones : *TD*, 521; — see
 labour, word, work
 farther : thou putttest hym
 farther oute of frame : *MD*,
 678
 fashion : see niver
 father : see bring up
 fellow : see merry
 fetch : see vagary
 find : see lame
 fine : ye are to fyne for me :
 TD, 322
 finger : some thinge cleues in
 theyr fyngers : *TD*, 973, 989;
 & he... layd his littell finger
 on me : *MD*, 81; she put the
 finger in the eye : *MD*, 371;
 — see ring
 fire : it wyll sett me a fyre :
 PD, 2181
 first : at the first breake : *MD*,
 66; at the first dash : *MD*, 7
 fish : fishe with a golden bayte :
 TD, 817
 follow : see dance
 fool : then J were a fole in
 dede : *TD*, 465; She was one
 of goddes fooles : *MD*, 515;
 were not he a starke fole :
 TD, 817; — see play
 foot : see black
 forbear : see bow
 forty : go forty myllys aboute :
 PD, 1989
 frame : see farther
 frank : franke and free : *D*, 468
 free : see frank
 fresh : as fresshe as a saulte
 heryng : *MD*, 249

gallows : horsemen... worthy
 to ryde vpon the gallowes :
 TD, 1139
 game : howesoeuer the game
 goeth : *MD*, 334
 gay : see Greek
 gear : what small geare it is :
 D, 342
 gentlemen : see gibbet
 gibbet : gentylmen of the
 Jebet : *TD*, 1140
 go about : see forty
 God : whome god amende :
 PD, 175; god be with you :
 TD, 660; beyonde goddes
 forbode : *MD*, 594; God for
 thy grace : *TD*, 139; So god
 helpe me : *TD*, 791; a goddes
 man : *MD*, 561; god know-
 eth : *TD*, 899; *D*, 156; in
 (a, on) goddes name : *TD*,
 132; *MD*, 396; *D*, 259; J pray
 god : *TD*, 667; J praye god
 J neuer come in heuen : *MD*,
 28; J pray god J dye and yf...:
 TD, 648; god thanke my
 selfe : *MD*, 581; J wold to
 God that... : *PD*, 602, 1145;
 J wolde to god for his pas-
 syon : *MD*, 20; J wold god...
 we were : *TD*, 690; — see
 fool
 golden : see fish
 good : One as good as an
 other : *D*, 314; so good a
 woman as euer was borne :
 MD, 564; — see better, play
 gospel : see true
 grace : see God, heart
 grass : see heart
 Greek : gaye grekes : *TD*, 1132

grieve : greue... To beyonde
 home : *MD*, 124
 grindstone : *see* nose
 hair : *see* horse
 hand : thou bearest men in
 hande : *TD*, 479, 938; to lay
 to hys hande in... : *MD*, 391;
 she woulde laye handes on
 it : *MD*, 452; stande... moche
 vpon hande : *TD*, 930; taken
 in hand : *D*, 290; J wyll in
 hande with... : *MD*, 832; —
see behind, lose
 handstroke : Came neuer your
 hote wordes vnto hand-
 strokes : *MD*, 71
 hang : hange vp suche prac-
 tysers : *TD*, 1097
 hard : beare out to the harde
 hedge : *TD*, 1055; — *see* heel
 head : ashamed... to shewe
 my head : *MD*, 30; J cut...
 of his head harde by his
 shulders : *TD*, 377; mauger
 thy head : *MD*, 673 (cp.
Udall, 413); hyt the nayle
 vpon the head : *TD*, 649;
 vpon theyr owne heed : *TD*,
 827; — *see* dieugard
 hear : of all that euer J hard
 of : *TD*, 934, 1141; here with
 bothe youre eyares : *PD*, 386
 heart : with al theyr harts in
 their bodies : *TD*, 1078; to
 take harte of grasse : *PD*,
 1024; my harte was almost
 in my hose : *PD*, 1025; he
 should haue repented euery
 vayne in hys harte : *MD*,
 113; it... setteth your hart
 vpon a mery pynne : *TD*,

344; as well as hearte canne
 thinke : *D*, 427
 heaven : *see* God
 heavy : he is toppe heuy :
MD, 816; — *see* little
 hedge : *see* hard
 heel : hard at the heeles of
 that : *D*, 366
 herring : *see* barrel, fresh
 high : *see* time
 hogshead : he cowceth an
 hogeshed : *MD*, 118 (cp. *A*
Caveat for Cursetors : ed.
 Ch. Hindley : London, 1871 :
 116-7)
 hold : <J> holde well withall :
MD, 627, 786
 hole : *see* bench
 home : *see* beyond
 hoop : *see* cock
 horn : horne woode : *MD*, 408
 horse : where the horse wal-
 loweth there lyeth some
 heares : *TD*, 975
 horsemen : *see* gallows
 house : all the house should
 be to lytle for hym : *MD*, 836
 hurly burly : in... a hurle
 burle : *TD*, 631 (cp. *Udall*, 432)
 husband : an husband of
 clowts : *MD*, 21; — *see*
 dance, play
 ill : JI mote they thryue : *MD*,
 143
 inch : *see* promise
 Jack : *see* mad
 jest : gette a nother maner of
 gestynge stokke : *PD*, 1460
 keep : *see* coil, day; — keep
 forth : *see* devil
 knave : *see* call

- knavish : *see* play
 know : *see* God
 labour : J cannot fall to no
 labour : *TD*, 468; he might
 haue lesse laboure and more
 thanke : *MD*, 729; it is but
 loste laboure : *MD*, 752; —
 see nose
 lady : one that moughte lye
 by any Ladyes syde : *MD*,
 414; his souerayne ladie :
 MD, 538
 lame : he shulde not haue
 founde me lame : *MD*, 82
 lash : to lashe prodigallye :
 TD, 1030
 late : *see* yesterday
 law : *see* Stafford
 lay : *see* bones, hand, life,
 stroke
 learn : *see* liripoop
 lesson : *see* liripoop
 leve : *see* long
 lie (= *jacere*) : liyenge by the
 walles : *PD*, 1781; — *see*
 lady
 lie (= *mendacium*, *mentiri*) :
 there can not be a lowder
 lye : *TD*, 911; is it not
 playne lyenge? : *TD*, 909
 life : men to laye your lyfe :
 TD, 706
 Lincoln : *see* devil
 liripoop : hauinge learned her
 liripuppe and lesson : *D*, 79
 little : many lytle offerynges
 makythe a heuy boxe : *PD*,
 660; lytell set bi : *MD*, 617;
 — *see* finger, house, store
 live : lyue... without carke &
 care : *TD*, 555; liue as well...
 as the day is broad and long
 to : *D*, 428; liue as well as
 hearte canne thinke : *D*, 427
 lob : *see* looby
 long : all the leue longe nyght :
 MD, 55; make a longe pro-
 ces or circumstance : *D*, 112;
 — *see* live
 looby : lobbyngelobye : *TD*, 439
 look : *see* devil
 lose : ye shall lose nothyng
 at my hande : *TD*, 666; —
 see labour
 loud : *see* lie
 love : they caste a great loue
 to... : *D*, 400; — *see* cherry
 fair
 love-day : loue dayes breketh :
 MD, 171, 610
 mad : madder then iacke of
 Redyng : *TD*, 823
 man : *see* bone, God, new
 many : *see* little
 Mary : by sayncte Marie :
 MD, 720; by saynt Mary :
 TD, 593
 master : bye it by... maystrys
 money : *TD*, 1104
 matter : *see* mar
 mauger : *see* head
 maze : people are in a mase :
 TD, 631
 merry : make as mery as cup
 and can : *TD*, 562; thou art
 a mery fellow : *TD*, 299; vpon
 a mery pynne : *TD*, 345;
 MD, 807; on your mery
 pinnes : *MD*, 807; — *see*
 heart
 mile : *see* forty
 mingle : mingle mangle of

parsons : *D*, 220
 mock : gyue... a mocke at the
 first dash : *MD*, 7; made a
 mocke and a mow at it :
 PD, 1920
 money : they... bestow theyr
 money euyll : *PD*, 2150; the
 fashions of... shall go for
 my monye : *D*, 124; — see
 master
 mouth : J... stoppyd hys
 mouthe with a fewe pens :
 PD, 1754
 mow : see mock
 murrain : see devil
 nail : see head
 name : see call, God
 new : to make him a new
 man : *MD*, 843
 night : see long
 niver : after a niuer facion :
 D, 164
 non decet : *TD*, 110
 nonce : for the nonce : *D*, 173
 nose : holden his nose to the
 grindstone : *MD*, 83; ye
 haue this in your nose for
 your labor : *D*, 258 (cp.
 Udall, 427); take peper in
 the noose : *TD*, 878
 odds : are you at oddes : *MD*,
 24
 offering : see little
 omnia : see answer
 once : see tell
 one : be at one with... : *MD*,
 25; ye are alwaies one at a
 nother : *MD*, 583; neither
 one thyng nor other : *MD*,
 483; — see all, good, point,
 word

other : see good, one
 owe : he oweth more then he
 is worthe : *TD*, 1028
 own : see diet, head
 ox : see black
 pain : that is a payne in dede :
 TD, 471
 part : see play
 passion : see God
 pate : J caught my frere by
 the polled pate : *TD*, 492;
 — see pommel
 peace : Holde thy peas : *TD*,
 578; *PD*, 777
 penny : a peny worth of ease
 is euer worth a peny : *TD*,
 465; — see mouth
 pepper : see nose
 perform : see promise
 pill : pyllynge and pollynge :
 PD, 2004
 pin : see merry [lie
 plain : see Dunstable, English,
 plain-song : that soundeth...
 lyke a playne song note :
 TD, 1019 (cp. *Long Meg of*
 Westminster : ed. Ch. Hind-
 ley : London, 1871 : ix)
 play : to play byll vnder
 wynge : *MD*, 285; play all
 the blabbe : *MD*, 322; he
 would playe his fages : *MD*,
 836; they play the foles
 sadely : *PD*, 114; playe the
 good husband : *TD*, 460;
 play the better husbande :
 MD, 291; played the parte of
 a knauyshe spendall : *TD*,
 1033; he... playeth... suche...
 partes and shameful shiftes :
 TD, 1040; playe the ruffyan :

- TD*, 1118; play the... sophys-
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theft : *TD*, 995; playe the
parte of a crackinge Thraso :
TD, 1131; playing the wan-
tons : *D*, 108
- pleasure : you maye well
thynke your pleasure : *TD*,
700
- plenty : *see* crow
- point : to haue him alwayes
at one point : *MD*, 335; —
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- poll : *see* pate, pill
- pommel : pomeld... well and
thrifely aboute the pate :
MD, 562 (cp. *Udall*, 452)
- pound : *see* cuff, promise
- practiser : *see* hang
- pray : *see* God
- pretence : cloke theyr doynge
vnder a craftie pretence :
TD, 1048
- privy : make hym pryuy to :
PD, 1061
- proces : *see* long
- prodigally : *see* lash
- promise : promyse more by
an ynche of a candle then
they wyll performe by a
whole pounce : *TD*, 944
- pudding : *see* puffed
- puffed : as puffed as a pud-
dyng : *TD*, 497
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- purse : *see* devil
- put : *see* comfort, conceit,
doubt, farther
- quare : *see* answer
- quod he, q he : *TD*, 367, 471,
941
- rattle : *see* ring
- Reading, Redyng : *see* mad
- repent : *see* heart
- rich : *see* Cræsus
- ride : *see* gallows
- right : he rose vpon his ryght
syde : *TD*, 376
- ring : ratle in his rynges vpon
the fyngers endes : *TD*, 1117
- rise : *see* right
- rood : by roode : *D*, 488
- rout : rowtyng lyke a sloyne
(sloven?) : *MD*, 54
- rovers : runne at rovers : *TD*,
630 (cp. *Udall*, 460)
- rub : *see* spectacles
- ruffian : *see* play
- run : *see* bench, rovers
- sad : sadde and sownd sleape :
PD, 1452
- saddle : *see* sow
- sadly : *see* play
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- same : *see* sauce, silver
- satins : *see* swash
- sauce : that of all sauces : *D*,
137; he may serue you of
the same sauce : *PD*, 499
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- set : *see* cock, little
- shame : make cost of shame
in... : *PD*, 2149
- shameful : *see* play, shift
- shepherd : *see* difference
- shift : shameful shiftes : *TD*,
1041; subtyl shifft : *TD*,
1003; — *see* play
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MD, 421; *PD*, 1096
- shoulder : *see* head
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 shrewshaken : *MD*, 263
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 siluer (= wood) : *D*, 327
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 snub : they snub you with
 this : *D*, 159
 so so : he toke it inworthe so
 so : *PD*, 2033 (cp. Udall, 464)
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TD, 109
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PD, 1290; — see word
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 thayr spectakles abowt... :
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MD, 396
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 stark : see fool
 stick : he... wyll not stycke to
 lashe : *TD*, 1029

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 by... : *MD*, 528
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 nance
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 stripes : *MD*, 110
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